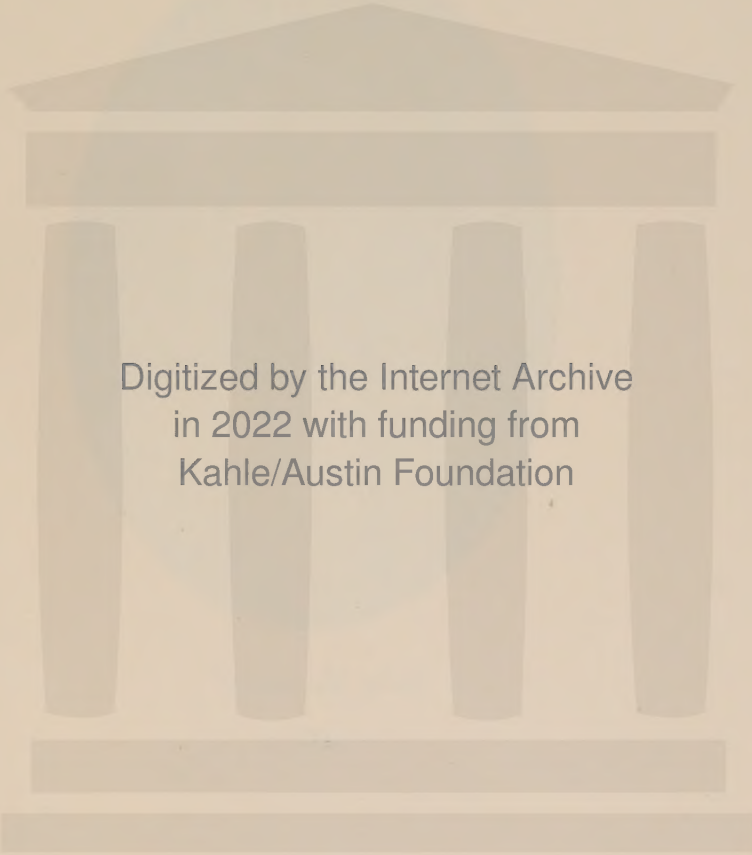


THE STORY OF
A SUB-PIONEER

Sara M. Alger



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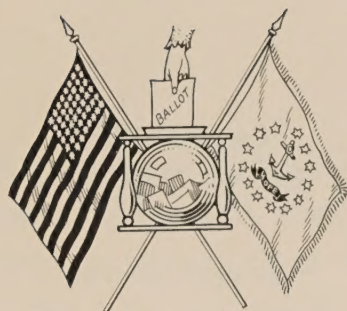
SARA M. ALGEO

— 1907 —

THE STORY OF A SUB-PIONEER

BY

SARA M. ALGEO



SNOW & FARNHAM COMPANY
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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Published December, 1925

This book is dedicated to *My Mother* who
by precept and example established my
firm faith in the womanhood of the world.

FOREWORD

My purpose in writing this book is two-fold; first, that other sub-pioneers like myself may feel that though we came into the great game of "Votes for Women" at the Eleventh Hour, we played a not inglorious part; our help was needed to mark Finis to the Suffrage Drama; second, that girls now growing up may not enter carelessly into their sacred rights of citizenship.

Three generations of American Women have given their best in time, money, and strength to the fight for what Jane Addams called "that handy little instrument, the ballot." Important as is the vote, it is but one of the stepping stones to true equality for men and women. The time has come for another generation of pioneers to carry forward the feminist movement toward a far higher standard if Equal Rights for men and women are to be attained.

SARA M. ALGEO

GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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STATE HOUSE, PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

This Edition of "The Story of a Sub-Pioneer," is limited to one thousand copies, the first two hundred of which will be reserved by the Author for her fellow Suffragists.

This copy is No. 693

The Story of a Sub-Pioneer

CHAPTER I

RHODE ISLAND RATIFICATION DAY

No more dramatic setting, it seemed to the women of Rhode Island, ever staged great event than that which greeted the Ratification of the Federal Suffrage Amendment on Jan. 6, 1920. Women knew that Rhode Island men were willing to go far to please the eager Presidential Suffrage Electorate which awaited but a stroke of the pen for full enfranchisement but after two futile attempts to secure a special session in July and again in September, naturally the inevitable questions arose even in the hearts of the most optimistic, "Will they do it?" "Dare they do it?"

When the announcement was made through the press several days prior to the opening of the Assembly by the Republican State Committee through the Chairman, Hon. Joseph P. Burlingame, that by a suspension of the rules, ratification, contrary to well-nigh every precedent, would be accomplished on the first day of the Assembly, the statement was taken on its face value and plans for an elaborate Victory Dinner were laid by the Providence League of Women Voters, and former Congressman Jeanette Rankin was engaged to speak on that evening by the R. I. League.

The longed-for day dawned clear and cold, like a cleanly cut diamond in its beautiful mantle of snow. Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, beloved historian and pioneer of the suffrage cause, lay in her home on a bed of pain but with hand outstretched to the telephone to get the latest developments. Women thronged the State House as early as ten-thirty though the Legislature did not convene until twelve. Seats on the floor were at a premium, every Representative having been besought for the coveted pasteboards days before. Suffrage workers filled the house and galleries save the east section which was occupied by the Governor's party in the midst of which sat the first lady of the state, Mrs. R. Livingston Beeckman, who though saddened by the death that morning of her dear friend, Mrs. Hope Shepley-Hollister, had come with her usual gracious interest to witness the final scene in the fifty years' drama.

A bouquet of white carnations with yellow streamers graced the speaker's desk, behind which the Speaker, Hon. Arthur P. Sumner, a life-long enemy of woman suffrage and who asked the privilege of casting the first vote against the amendment, wielded the gavel. His forbidding countenance struck terror to the hearts of the bravest present who wondered if by chance, as speaker he could hold up the act at the last moment.

Such fears proved groundless. After the summoning of the Senate to meet with the House in Grand Committee, the Governor read his annual message in which he recommended immediate Ratification. Affairs then moved quickly to a climax. Among the measures proposed, including the bonus for soldiers, and the day-light saving bill, the resolution providing for ratification took first place. It was passed on roll-call, 89 to 3, under suspension of the rules. The three dissenting votes were those of the Speaker, Arthur P. Sumner, William H. Thayer of Bristol, and Albert R. Zurlinden of Lincoln. But two speeches were made and these hardly worthy of so momentous an occasion by the two floor leaders, William R. Fortin, Republican, of Pawtucket, and William W. Flynn, Democrat, of Providence, in which the strength of women's will and the abolishment of the property qualification in Rhode Island were extolled. Luigi De Pasquale, a member of the House, took this occasion to state his conversion to the suffrage cause.

The vote taken, a rush was made across the corridors to the Senate. There action marched with even greater rapidity. The Chair was occupied by a friend of the cause, Lieut. Governor Emery J. San Souci, and within a few moments, with no accompanying speeches, the Resolution was passed by viva voce vote, with but one dissenting voice, that of John H. McCabe, Democrat, of Burrillville. Followed the usual dispatches to our great leader, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, to Alice Stone Blackwell and to others eagerly awaiting the outcome. The cartoon of the *Journal* cartoonist of excited women upsetting the staid old dome of the State House was no exaggeration of the joy which prevailed.

The Victory Dinner on the eve of Ratification was a wonderful success. Held at the select Turks Head Club, wholly democratic in the happy mingling of men and women of all walks of life, who have stood from the beginning shoulder to shoulder in their fight for women's rights, with prominent state officials, among whom were again numbered Governor Beeckman and his beautiful wife, conversing freely with political party leaders and distinguished men and women in private life, it was a memorable occasion, one worthy to be recounted to the children and grandchildren of future generations.

The turkey dinner served was a good one and the program was an excellent feast in itself. Twenty speakers held forth on the glories of the victory and, wonderful to relate, they were all brief and to the point so that the toastmistress of the dinner, Mrs. James W. Algeo, was able to conclude the evening with the Doxology at 10:15.

In making up the program, Mrs. Algeo had planned carefully to invite all who had played a well-nigh indispensable part in bringing about so great a victory and judging from the number present who had been more than fifty years in the work and also from the

SCENES AT STATE HOUSE DURING ROLL CALL ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT



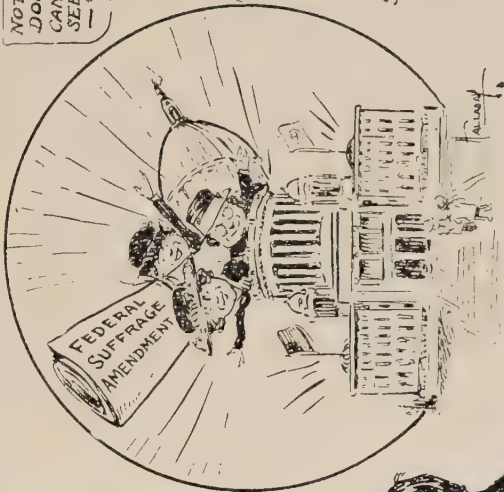
"JAKE" EATON
"IT'S ALL RIGHT
LADIES"



FLYNN
DEM. HOUSE
LEADER



FORTIN
SPEAKS FOR THE
SUFFRAGE BILL



AT LAST!



NOTHING
DOING -
CANT
SEE IT -

SENATOR
McCABE COULD
NOT BE
PERSUADED



GORTON
THE SUFFRAGE
GUIDE IN THE
SENATE



DAN
GEARY.
DEM. LEADER IN SENATE



THE RUSH FOR THE SENATE AFTER WINNING IN THE HOUSE

fact that hardly a refusal was received except through necessity, she was quite successful.

In the absence of the Right Reverend James DeWolf Perry, who was called away at the last moment, Mrs. Edward L. Marsh invoked in a few sincere and earnest words the divine blessing. At the conclusion of the dinner, all stood for a few moments to honor the memory of Mrs. Hope Shepley-Hollister, who had endeared herself to the people of the state by her splendid work during the war in the Women's Committee, Council of National Defense. Jolly little speechlets were then made by Gov. Beeckman, who invited women to come in and clean house from the inside, Hon. Joseph H. Gainer, who welcomed the fresh and untainted point of view of women in politics, and by other party leaders who gave the women much good advice which the chairman said they would receive with much humility of spirit and then do exactly as they pleased, which was just what the men expected them to do, judging from the applause which greeted her remark.

Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell, Rhode Island's historian, aged 85 years young, read an original poem, as did also Miss Enid M. Pierce.

Mrs. Edward L. Marsh and Mrs. Edward H. Whitney, President of the Federation of Church Societies, struck the note of lofty Christian idealism in their conception of what the vote of women should bring to the body politic and Miss Mary E. Jackson cast a flaming sword in our midst in her presentation of the wrongs that must be righted among our colored brothers and sisters.

Mrs. Jerome Fitts, Secretary of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association, who sat in the place of honor next to Governor Beeckman, in her toast to the Antis under the forlorn but still stubborn leadership, of the Honorable Speaker of the House, Arthur P. Sumner, brought down the house.

Telegrams and letters were read or referred to from Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, the Massachusetts Suffrage Association, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Anna Garlin Spencer, Miss Sarah Eddy, Mrs. Nathan W. Littlefield, Miss Mary B. Anthony, Mr. Arnold B. Chace, Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott, and Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt.

Mrs. J. K. Barney spoke for the pioneers, some of whom were present, including Mrs. Amey M. Jewett, Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell, Miss Ruth Haskell, and some who could only be represented by proxy, as Mrs. Barton A. Ballou, Mrs. Amey A. Edmands, and Mrs. George Gladding.

Other speakers were Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, Hon. Joseph P. Burlingame, Chairman of the Republican State Committee; Hon. Alberic A. Archambault, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee; Ex-Senator Henry B. Kane, Mr. Walter A. Presbrey, Chairman of the Providence Police Commission; Judge Frank E. Fitzsimmons, Collector of the Port; Ex-Governor L. F. C. Garvin, Hon. Samuel H. Davis, and Hon. Richard W. Jennings, whom the



MRS. EDWARD L. MARSH

toastmistress presented last as "the noblest Roman of them all," for it was he who drew up the Presidential Suffrage Bill which became a law in 1917. She recalled how Mr. Jennings, while in the Legislature had led fights for other good bills brought in by the women and how in the early days "straight as Dick Jennings" used to be a metaphor often employed on the Hill.



Richard W. Jennings

The signing of the Ratification Resolution by Governor Beeckman was witnessed by a large delegation of suffragists representing the various organizations the next day, Jan. 7, at eleven o'clock. Gov. Beeckman had three pens before him on the inkstand and alternated them in affixing his signature twice on the documents before them while the photographers were busy taking pictures of the group. He handed the first in a silver handle to Miss Mary B. Anthony, who represented the Old Guard among the suffrage workers. The second in a black handle he passed to Mrs. James



SIGNING THE RATIFICATION MEASURE

W. Algeo, who stood for the newer elements in the suffrage work in the state. Thus ended in a most satisfactory manner the glorious victory which will long be remembered in the annals of Rhode Island.

This is the account that went hot from my pen to the Woman Citizen of our great victory. I sat in the Governor's Gallery as the floor had been forbidden to me by our Anti-Suffrage Speaker, Arthur P. Sumner. Feeling ran high in those days in both camps.

That becoming enfranchised was but a step in woman's onward and upward march toward a finer civilization in the minds of women themselves, was envisaged clearly by our dear friend Enid M. Pierce in her Victory poem written for the Ratification Dinner:



ENID M. PIERCE IN HER GARDEN

VICTORY

Hail women of the nation!
The fight at last is done
The ballot now is ours ;
Shout each and ev'ry one,
You who have struggled for it,
And you who held it back,
You who have dreamed the vision,
For them that felt no lack.

RHODE ISLAND RATIFICATION DAY

Call, each one to a brother,
And say that now we stand
Upon an equal footing,
With them who ruled our land.
We'll keep, or make, or alter
The laws as seemeth best,
That government may function
And pass the acid test.

If brotherhood and justice
Be not our rally cry,
We've no excuse for being
So just as well might die.
Up and away to action,
To-morrow dawns the day
When we must prove our valor
To point a better way.

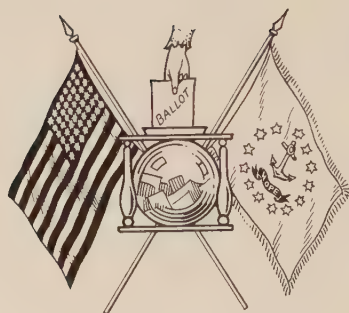
No longer as man's plaything
Or yet his faded drudge,
But now an honest helpmeet,
And let him be the judge,
If in a generation,
He does not call us "square"
And measure up to meet us
And play the game more fair.

If either side held aces
And almost all the trumps,
And never once changed places,
Of course a lot of "frumps"
Would play against the winners,
Who'd beat and beat and beat,
And daily grow more pompous
And even stoop to cheat.

Equal before our Maker,
Society must free
Each sex of many vices
And much frivolity ;
Then may we stand together
And each help each to rise,
Making the world about us,
Ever more good and wise.

So, women, hail this hour,
Not as a trial past
But only as beginning
Of what shall prove at last,
The social evolution
Moving the world apace,
And making it, to live in,
A somewhat better place.

Hail, women of the nation!
At last you reach the goal,
To see it flee before you ;
So should each human soul
Follow the gleam of visions
That beckon from afar
Until the light finds placement
In God's most distant star.



CHAPTER II

MY MOTHER

Like many another sub-pioneer when victory was fully assured by the final ratification of the 19th Amendment by Tennessee on August 26, 1920, I felt out of a job and began to ponder "What next?"; to wonder what I, Sara M. Algeo, born in the small town of Cohasset, Massachusetts, in the centennial year of 1876 and now living in the tight little state of Rhode Island, would do with the time I had been wont to spend in stalking that elusive animal called woman suffrage. My personal grand finale in the beloved cause had been celebrated in my attendance at the congress of the International Suffrage Alliance at Geneva, Switzerland, in the month of May when I had served as one of the delegates of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. With victory assured in the United States what a joy it was to American women to congregate with women of every nationality,—some more fortunate than they, others less so,—and build up plans for future action and usefulness! Though my thoughts had been turned into more general channels by this experience it occurred to me that a brief story of suffrage in Rhode Island, the making of a sub-pioneer—for I believe I am somewhat typical of the tribe,—and the part played by her just before the curtain fell upon the last act, might be of some interest to the general public as well as to that of Rhode Island where the scenes of my work have been enacted. Possibly a book of this kind may prove of interest also to the rising generation who must wonder sometimes how it seemed in those queer days before women had the vote.

As husband and I moved to Barrington shortly after the ratification of the 19th Amendment to become ensconced in an old farm house more than a mile and a half from the Railroad Station, it seemed that my surmise in regard to plenty of leisure might prove correct. It has not. Demands of summer guests and winter activities are time devouring monsters and only moments here and there are to be snatched for such a chronicle as this. To thwart further my ambition to rush into print, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, my beau ideal of the perfect suffrage pioneer, somewhat dampened my ardor for recording my experiences by inferring that they would have a striking similarity to those of

SOWAMSET

ALGEO HOME AT RUMSTICK POINT, BARRINGTON



Sowamset, Haven of the Blest,
Invites the soul to calm and rest.
Lying twixt the Bay and River
In her eyes the look come-hither,
Habitat of rhyme and jest.

most suffrage workers. True, alas, too true! However, so far as I know, there are few volumes written by the common garden variety of suffragists. They are all written by the extraordinary, the distinguished, the great. Methinks a less rarified atmosphere may prove a welcome tonic.

Notwithstanding the risk involved I can promise a few thrills in near approach to the great and the near-great, some of whom may later condescend to walk into these simple annals of the poor. I believe I can vouchsafe with perfect veracity that I am the only one in Rhode Island to have had her face washed by Lady Astor and proud remembrance of the delicious cucumber cream she used in the process still lingers. However, that's another story.

My life has been a particularly happy one. Few really tragic hours have marred my unusually serene and contented personal lot, so my strong feminist leanings must be attributed to observation and intuition of the longings and aspirations of my fellow women rather than to bitter personal experience. I speak of this because it is a mistake so frequently made. Even women to say nothing of men used to tell me when I was declaiming on the injustice toward women in denying them the ballot and other rights, "Why do you complain, you have a good husband and nothing to worry about?" I felt like turning on them and saying, "Can't you see you poor dumb-bells, can't you see that is the very reason why I must work for the poor women who can't fight for themselves?" Even now at intervals men speak of me as a man-hater and women hint at a dark tragedy back of my strong-mindedness. That I am a feminist first, last and all the time, is due to an irresistible impulse implanted by birth and training by a mother whose power of accomplishment was never limited by sex and whose sense of justice was equally sexless. It simply makes me angry through and through to see women as women imposed upon. Not a day passes without some flagrant violation of fair play toward them coming to my notice. Now it is a child become the plaything in a nasty divorce case; again a woman displaced from her job by a man; and yet again a school teacher doing twice the work and getting less pay than her masculine competitor. Why enumerate what passes daily before our eyes? Only the wilfully blind can ignore the demands of the feminist movement. Alice Paul said, when she was asked about her settlement work in London, that her most vivid impression was seeing babies die.

So it is with the feminist who sees ideals of right, justice, equality and freedom dying about her daily and tries to save some from the general wreckage.

I did have one nasty jolt in my school teaching days; it may have made more of an impression than I realized at the time. I was to all intents and purposes ordered out of a man's office because he did not care to do business with a woman. He did the "business" later through the medium of expensive lawyers. Since then I have taken a good deal of satisfaction in making things easier for the women who can't afford expensive lawyers. The vote is a grand little instrument to inspire respect in all fields of activity.

Had I been able to choose my birthplace I am sure it would have been in the small town of Cohasset, where I was born on June 13, 1876. Nestling like a "gem of purest ray serene" behind the "stern and rock-bound coast" of the South Shore, about twenty miles from Boston, it retains its calm and noble beauty through the passing of the years. It is no less than blasphemy to one who senses the sheer loveliness of our New England towns to hear deprecated the spirit of their Puritan ancestry which one can see plainly is their main motif. I was born of alien parentage, my mother being of North of Ireland stock and my father of Scotch descent, coming from the fighting MacCormacks of Aberdeen. While I have never ceased to regret that I can lay no honest claim to a single timber of the Mayflower, the record of my ancestors on the other side paralleled the bravery of their kindred who sailed in advance. It gave me distinct satisfaction in a trip to Ireland and Scotland in maturer years to find that my forebears on both sides as Cromwell's followers, no easy path for any one, as Wesleyans or ranters did their best to maintain standards that seemed right and necessary for them however we may regard those same standards now. I could not clearly define a ranter, but I am sure it is better than a "do-nothing." A combination of yeomanry and nobility marks my mother's family, the Overend and Clements families having intermarried since early times.

Nobody told me that I was a remarkable child, so I can lay no claims in that direction. But I did have a truly wonderful mother, who had one supreme ambition, that her five children should have the education she had been denied, for educational facilities in Ireland in the forties were not of the best. No

sacrifice on her part was too great to achieve this desire. I believe to this day that my two college degrees belong more rightfully to

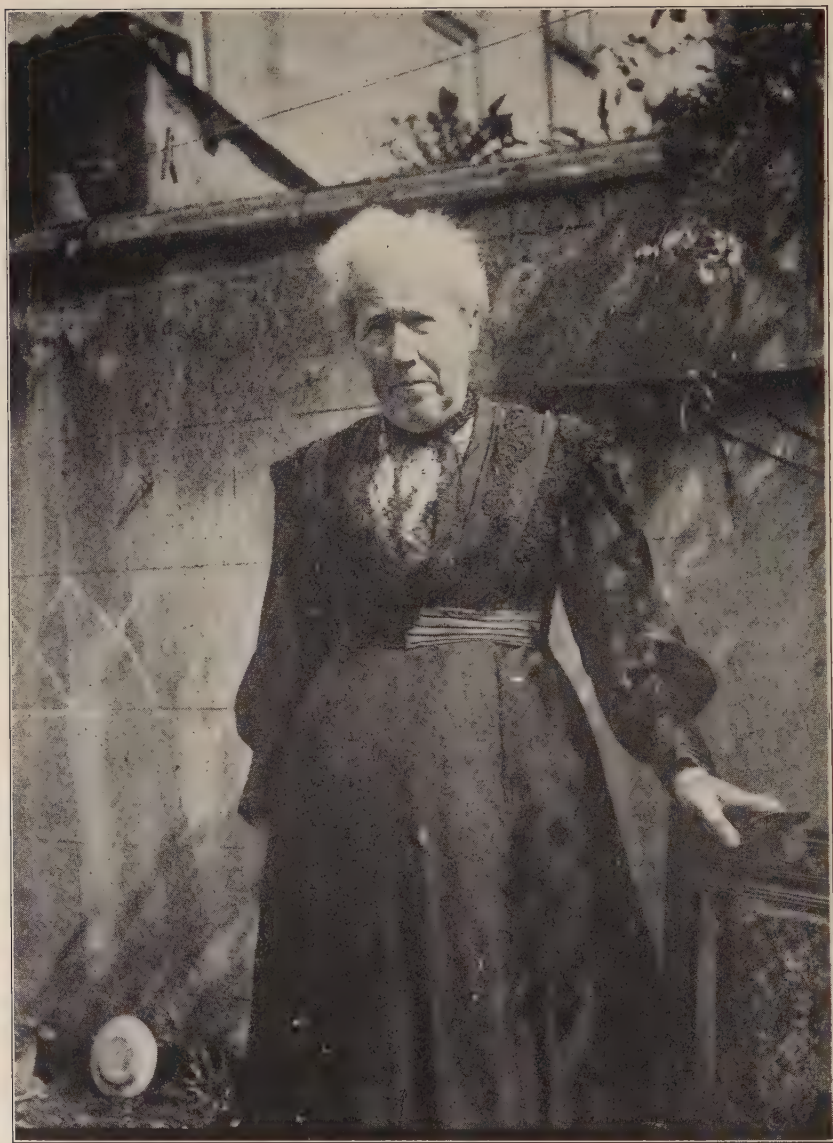


BALLYHANNON HOUSE
PORTADOWN, IRELAND

Home of the maternal ancestors (the Overends) of Mrs. Sarah MacCormack since the time of Cromwell

her than to myself. Fortunately we lived in the country and when my father died at the age of thirty-nine of the dreaded disease, then so common, old-fashioned consumption, though we had no money we did have a grub stake on three acres of land and a home. I never see a tuberculosis stamp without thinking what our brave mother must have suffered with the sole responsibility of a dying husband and five small children ranging from nine to two. I was the baby and am sorry to say added to the discomfort of all concerned by bawling steadily.

My oldest sister, Elizabeth Rachel, was a matronly little thing who started in at an early age to make my dresses, which showed her good intent, whatever her lack of skill. The next in age, sister Edith, early acquired the reputation of being the real



MY MOTHER

—1907—

hustler of the family and of having something doing every minute. No one had to worry over her future, she so early manifested capabilities of standing on her own feet. James Overend was next in line. He bore the family name and next to him came John Wesley, named after mother's greatest hero. It was a disappointment to her when my brother became a railroad man instead of a Methodist preacher. My older sister's career seems



ELIZABETH RACHEL HELPS POPULATE THE UNIVERSE

to have been in helping to populate the universe. Not long ago her oldest daughter decided that her faithfulness in this direction should be hailed by a special celebration so the closest of the family, there was room for no more, met at her home and presented herself and husband with 50 shining gold dollars and other gifts. I contributed the following lines glimpsing our girlhood days as I remember them:

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS MARRIED

(Lines written by Sara M. Algeo in honor of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the marriage of Elizabeth Rachel and Fred G. James, Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 29, 1923, King Street, Cohasset, Mass.)

Thirty-five years married this Thanksgiving Day,
 Thirty-five years of travel on Life's Highway ;
 Thirty-five years of joy and of trials,
 Thirty-five years of self-imposed self-denials ;
 Thirty-five years,—a journey of no little span
 For the good wife and her good man.

So we, their tale, will now rehearse,—
 The idea is good, the rhyme might be worse ;
 He called her Dolly, the Belle of Pond Street ;
 Like a dolly she seemed, so round and sweet,
 With cheeks like red apples and eyes pure blue,
 This little mother to the MacCormack Crew.

If she called him Ducky, we'll all agree
 To forgive at this date—1923 ;
 If they dollyed and duckied their courtship through
 Who then should worry—not me, not you.
 This is the tale of Elizabeth Rachel and Fred G. James
 So why words expend on mere pet names?

So they married, these two, and went to live
 In South Weymouth, which failed to give
 To this homing pair what they asked of life
 So back Fred came and brought his wife :
 Their footsteps turned, as turned the feet
 Of their pilgrim sires, to fair King Street.

To bless their home, one little transient came to stay
 But for a moment, then gave way
 To Edith Daphne, a charming elf with winsome way,
 A Real MacCormack, I've heard say.
 So like her mother she did seem
 A true Dolly the Second, if you get what I mean.

Hester came next,—made of peaches and cream
 She was I can tell you some little queen :
 Then Percival Norman, crowned with a wealth
 Of sunny curls well-nigh hiding his tiny self.
 His mother knew not what to do with this shining fluff
 But made up her mind a pillow to stuff

For Arthur the Knight of complexion fair,
Who made up in smile what he lacked in hair.
Then Susan Becky, we destined for college
But alas and alack! she pined not for Knowledge.
She had her hands full with Lewis, a very nice kid
In spite of his failure to do all that he's bid.

Nor must we forget little Sara, the angel babe,
Who smiled at us once, then passed unafraid
To the Great Beyond
Where angels beckoned with gestures fond.
Thus closed the book, writ on by baby fingers :
As babes grow up, how dear their memory lingers!

Thirty-five years married this Thanksgiving Day!
Glance again at the milestones ere they fade away.
Thirty-five years of sickness and health,
Thirty-five years of the sheer wealth
Of living-truly a journey of no little span
For the good wife and her good man.

My sister Edith became a good school-teacher, a good mother,
a good citizen, in everyway living up to her early reputation of
"Go to it."

It was only at rare intervals that mother spoke of the early stage
of our existence and then with philosophical thankfulness for the
generosity of her neighbors and the sympathy and wise counsel
of Dr. Osgood, Hon. John D. Long, and other good friends. It
simply never occurred to our mother to give away her children to
the relatives who offered to take them. Nor did we ever feel
any sense of poverty though our tangible assets must have been
well-nigh negligible. We had our home with a small mortgage,
our cheerful and courageous mother who never seemed to know
the meaning of the word fear, and we had each other to enjoy
and to scrap with for we tried to maintain the reputation of the
fighting MacCormacks, though our frequent squabbles left no
rancor.

We have I hope tried to live up to our family crest which
accords well with our belligerent name. It is a pert little bird
perched upon the solid foundation of a big boulder surrounded by
the motto, "Sine Timore." World religions have been founded
upon less solid foundations.



THE McALLISTERS AT HOME

—1910—

No nagging was permitted though a good, honest fight was never frowned upon. "Give, take, then forget it," is a pretty good family motto.

I have gone into this phase of our family life to some extent for the sake of the modern mother who may be left stranded with her fatherless brood. Not long ago such a mother came to me. Without hesitation I advised the country as a dwelling place with its garden, its opportunities for light work and less complicated but more healthful standards of living.

There were few problems in Americanization in Cohasset forty years ago before the Cape had received its avalanche of Jews, Italians and Portuguese to confuse the simple life of the natives. We were occasionally called "Irisher" with bated breath by some youngster who did not approve of our strenuous methods, but the little white schoolhouse which we attended was distinctly homogeneous in character, good old New England stock which, though beginning to peter out a bit, becoming somewhat lax in church attendance, not as keen for educational privileges as we newcomers, rather too fond of the hard cider produced at the frequent cider mills, was always good at heart and genuine.

One cannot refuse the mind the intellectual stimuli of church, music, lectures and books without a general shrinkage of its powers of receptivity. "Man cannot live by bread alone," nor by digging potatoes and hoeing corn all day Sunday. The high standards of Puritan forbears cannot be maintained by closed minds and dull brains. God forbid the native New Englander losing his noble heritage through willful neglect.

The year 1891 marked the passing of the little red and white school-houses in Cohasset and all children outside the mile limit were transported in barges to the new Osgood School situated in the centre of the town. It is surprising to me that the idea of transporting children to school even now is considered somewhat of a novel and unnecessary expense in some up-to-date Rhode Island towns. The salaries of men and women teachers then bore the same discrepancies and discriminations which characterize the compensation of that much-abused profession today. The excellent history of our town written by Rev. E. Victor Bigelow, the beloved pastor of the Second Congregational Church for many years, tells us that in 1838, when the permanent public high school was established, the teachers' salaries were estimated as follows:

"Salary of the Teacher of the High School, \$250; Salaries of the District Male Teachers, \$225; Salaries of the Female Teachers, \$168. Fuel for all the schools, \$100. Rent of a room for a High School, \$25. Making in all the sum of \$768. (In this estimate, \$25 *per month* has been allowed to each of the Male Teachers in the district schools, and \$2 *per week* to each of the Female Teachers.")

I wonder how many women of the forties were bubbling over with indignation at this truly masculinized pay roll as women teachers are doing today.

I believe I can claim the really unique honor of being the first girl to prepare and go to college from the Cohasset High School. My brother prepared at the same time and in June, 1895, we received our certificates for Boston University.

It was through the Cohasset High School that my faith became rooted and grounded in the public school system of America. Had it not been for the early failures to establish a private academy in Cohasset and the resultant success of the really good public schools our family would have gone without the coveted education and the dream of my mother would have gone unfulfilled. I believe with Dallas Lore Sharp of our neighboring town, Hingham, that the public school is as sacred as the American flag and regard the constant inroads being made upon it by sectarian and private schools as a vicious and un-American influence which should be fought from every possible angle. Professor Sharp does not exaggerate when he says that the private school is fit only for the "feeble-minded." If only to partially repay the debt I owe to the self-respecting town of Cohasset, where standards of public education are sufficiently high to provide a good education for all boys and girls who want it, I shall improve every opportunity to proclaim my faith in the public schools of America and deery each and every form of private school, whether it be the so-called parochial school or the most fashionable private school. Both are the same breed and ilk; both spring from the Pharisaical desire to be not as other men are; and both are reacting unfavorably upon our national unity.

My High School graduation essay presaged my life hobby in a rather unusual manner. Given my choice of subjects I took "The Twentieth Century Girl." It told much about woman's increasing prowess in athletics and the bold and daring ways in

which she was beginning to earn her own living, but was a far cry from the present-day flapper and it barely hinted at "Votes for Women." My graduation dress was long and trailly. It had its charms at that.

Prof. Charles F. Jacobs, the Principal of the High School, was a most unusual teacher. He had marvellous discipline. We all walked on tip-toes and refrained from coughing in his presence, but we did learn Greek and Latin, English and French, Algebra and Geometry, more than some of the younger generation seem able to do under politer and more modern methods. Brother and I hated the thought of leaving the charming milieu of our friends the Bates, the Browns, the Towers and the Lincolns, all with long pilgrim pedigrees and gracious breeding. I feel about the gentle town of Cohasset as Mary McDowell did when visiting the charming town of Bristol, Rhode Island. "It is all right," she said, "to work and live in the University Settlement of Chicago, but let me come back to die in one of your beautiful New England towns, such as this." It seemed a great adventure to my brother and me to attend Boston University and to live in a great city like Boston.

Fortunately we had been prepared for the change from rural to urban life by a fine mother who had placed character building before all else. Would that America was filled with mothers such as she! Many of her wholesome precepts come back to me through the years. One of them has preserved my self-confidence and, I trust, abolished self-conceit. It was this: "Remember you are as good as others, but no better." While mother had her share of native Anglo-Saxon pride she had also the poise and equilibrium of this race.

An expression used frequently by our mother and which I never heard anywhere else was "Don't let your bone go with the dog," meaning "Don't start out to do a thing and give it up as a bad job." The words reverberate in my ears now and I wonder how many dogs have stolen my bones in the past years. Not so many as might have done so, I am sure, had I not been duly warned of their predatory instincts.

Another habit she formed for us early and always insisted upon was regular church attendance. No unpleasant criticism was permitted upon our return of minister or Bible-school teacher. It was well understood that we did not go to church to please the

minister or ourselves but because it was an institution to be maintained as a matter of duty as much as bathing or other good habits. She herself was a thorough Bible student and from our earliest childhood told us stories both from the Bible and elsewhere after supper until bedtime. Religion was made a pleasure, but we were never allowed to forget that it was a duty also and exacting in its demands. The habit of church going inculcated in my childhood has never failed me and has always been a distinct comfort. Possibly it is due to her teaching that the church must be maintained at any cost that I reply when asked "Are you a Fundamentalist or a Modernist?" "Neither, I am an Institutional."

Another lesson that our mother taught her children was to tell the truth. I remember once how I glowed with pride when I overheard her say to a friend, "I know it isn't so for Sadie says it isn't, and I can always believe my daughter." Since that day I have wanted to live up to her good opinion. We were taught to stand on our own feet, have our own opinions and stick to them provided we felt sure they were right. Though no whit bigoted in her religious views, she always deprecated inter-religious marriages as a source of much unhappiness, claiming that they were far more likely to be productive of unhappiness than international unions. She often told me that in her early life in Ireland people of different beliefs lived side by side in perfect harmony but that intermarriage of the young people was frowned upon by all concerned. During my stay in Ireland in 1907 I found this to be true. Have recent difficulties magnified or lessened this feeling of friendly propinquity and religious separateness?

Possibly the best lesson we learned from our dear mother was not to become the slave of things. Viewed from the material point of view we may not have had much at home but as I look back upon my childhood it seems to me we lived in the midst of plenty. We never judged others by what they had; in fact, we didn't know, nor care. Nor did we worry about others judging us. Our demands were simple, our capacity for happiness, boundless.

So brother and I set out on the great adventure with plenty of health, enough good looks for people did agree that we were fairly easy to look at, and not much money in our jeans. That we have both succeeded passing well in life we both may humbly attribute to our well-beloved mother who worked so faithfully in our be-

half. Boston University we had been told by Martha Paul Howe, the wife of our leading doctor, Oliver H. Howe, was a democratic institution equally adapted for rich and poor, where the education was adequate and the good times were many. On better acquaintance we became as loyal as she and, I trust, as good boosters to our Alma Mater.

In the spring of 1925, on the sixteenth day of March, our dear mother passed to the great beyond in the 86th year of her age and according to her wishes was buried in the simplest possible manner in Woodlawn Cemetery in Cohasset. Definite in all things, she was equally emphatic in this—she wanted no mourning worn for her. Nor did she care for costly monuments. For the comfort of the many who are nearing the unknown it may be said she showed no fear. Her constant prayer during her last night was that of John Wesley, "Come, Lord, Oh Come Quickly!" and that she might not live to suffer and be a burden to others. With steadfast faith and unfaltering trust—she died as she had lived. "The memory of the just is blessed."

CHAPTER III

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

If you are sending your boy and girl to college with the rosy expectation that they can work their way through, remember the first year is always the hardest and that it is well-nigh impossible to adjust one's self to the new atmosphere of freedom and find lucrative employment in a city at the same time keeping up with the college requirements. Some colleges, I understand, now expect all expenses provided for the first year before matriculation. I consider this a mistake as no real seeker for knowledge should be turned away from any college until given, at least, a chance to challenge fate and his own powers of "sticktoitiveness." That my brother and I did get newspaper reporting to do and by close coöperation and vivid imaginations we did find things to write about in a setting that was strange to us shows our intensity of purpose. While our college preparation had been good, naturally it did not compare with the intensive classical training of the schools in and about Boston and it was nip and tuck for us to keep up with our class work. Hardship or no hardship, the game was well worth the candle. Not for millions would I exchange the precious four years spent at Boston University and the student life as lived in Boston.

The newspaper work in itself was stimulating. I was the "Post Woman," my brother was on the Journal. When extremely short of cash we would think up some "special." I remember one particular "special" on athletics which made Boston University the champion she might have longed to be and may since have become but certainly was not when our story appeared. I remember how surprised the editor seemed when he glanced over it but it netted almost a column's space and we were both so innocent of sporting values that we saw no exaggeration in our tale. My reportorial position gave me an added importance in the eyes of some—and there are always some—who delighted in newspaper notoriety. It also gave me an opportunity to help in determining social standards. For example, I remember a college affair where all previous customs were set aside and a certain set of goody-goodies decided that absolute simplicity should be the key-note. When I wrote it up as "namby-pamby" and described its general lack of flavor the girls were angry but

they didn't repeat the experiment. College students are the most conservative body in the world. They must not miss one trick played by their fathers and their grandfathers in the academic fold.

As a reporter I came in contact with many local celebrities: Alice Stone Blackwell, with her fine brow and eyes intensely alive in strange contrast to her general air of repose used to come in to college frequently and through the medium of my humble self was written up often as a distinguished graduate of Boston University. I confess I never fully appreciated her greatness then as my suffrage training was yet to come but I always admired her power and zeal. Eva Channing, as the granddaughter of William Ellery Channing, whose essays were included in our cultural courses made a deeper impression upon me as a figure of note. Of my interviews with Mayors' wives, and public women I remember little. Those interviewed were generally tactful, made a few gracious remarks, were all apparently glad to secure publicity in regard to their particular hobby, and were always most courteous. I suppose their attitude was the same as my own now, not so very keen about personal publicity but glad to have my favorite organization and its work get its due meed of publicity and praise.

Through the kindness of Emily Loring Clarke and Elizabeth Young Rutan, to both of whom I owe a never-to-be-forgotten debt of gratitude, I was often a guest at the Twentieth Century Club where such distinguished speakers and well-known public figures as Mary Livermore, Charles Dudley Warner and Alice Freeman Palmer were frequent visitors. I must have seen Julia Ward Howe and Susan B. Anthony as they were in Boston at this time I am told. If so I do not remember them.

One event stands out in my mind most distinctly a debate,—in '97 if I mistake not—between Harvard and Boston University, with one man and one woman from each institution, all arranged by Lucia Ames Mead, suffragist and peace advocate. Grace Ward represented the women of Boston University for the negative side and Maud Wood (later Maud Wood Park) Radcliffe for the affirmative. It was my particular job as a reporter to collect photos and give the data of the debate. I shall never forget my first meeting with Maud Wood Park. It was in her apartment on Newberry Street where I went seeking her photo.



BOSTON UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
FACULTY—1899

PROF. AUGUSTUS H. BUCK	PROF. WILLIAM MARSHALL WARREN
PROF. THOMAS BOND LINDSAY	
DEAN W. E. HUNTINGTON	PROF. BORDEN PARKER BOWNE
PROF. BUTLER	PRES. WILLIAM FAIRFIELD WARREN
PROF. JAMES GEDDES	
PROF. MARSHALL L. PERRIN	PROF. JUDSON B. COIT
PROF. JOSEPH R. TAYLOR	PROF. WILLIAM NILES
PROF. F. SPENCER BALDWIN	

This she flatly refused to give on the premise that her face was her own property and not that of the public. In vain I pleaded that she had ceased to represent herself but stood for a great college. She proved adamant. How little we both dreamed that in the future her photograph would appear throughout the country as the suffrage leader universally known and admired. My revenge came, however, in the page of cartoons on the debate from the skilled pen of the artist, "Norman." These were accompanied by vivid word pictures of the funny side of the debate, (for in 1897 it was still very funny indeed to think that women should debate in public), and the arguments for both sides which I had sat up until two o'clock the night before to write. Without disloyalty to my own Alma Mater, I am glad to record that Maud Wood's masterly presentation was generally conceded to be the best of the four participants. She has probably learned since that no woman can be in public work without sacrificing some of her personal feelings and natural reservations. I have known cases of women prominent in public life who, far from shrinking from the limelight of newspaper publicity, rather immodestly seek it. Such women I believe to be rare. Sincerity and real desire to serve characterize most of the public women I happen to know.

My four years in Boston University flew by all too quickly. In my studies I survived—nothing to brag about there. I did really enjoy History, English, Latin, French and Sociology, but was always too busy in outside matters to attain perfection in anything. The teachers were splendid, dear old "Billy Warren," Professor Bowne, Professors Buck, Lindsay, Geddes, Taylor, Perrin, Baldwin and the rest. How seriously they took their task of instructing the plastic callow youth placed in their hands. It may be due to their earnest efforts that practically every member of the Class of '99, whose careers it has been my whim to follow is filling some really important niche in the educational, professional or business world. One of my particular chums, Sarah Hanley Moody, is filling two positions satisfactorily: one as Dean of Women in a large high school on the Cape; the other as successful mother of two fine boys, one of whom is in college and the other on the way there.

In spite of my inability to become a grind, my education in the great city of Boston may have been going on in some subconscious

manner that Freudians would warmly approve. In retrospect it is rich, full and most satisfactory. As a reporter I came closely in touch with President and faculty. How well I remember arranging for a full page Sunday "special" only to be told sternly by President Warren when I laid my plans before him, "Boston University does not depend for its growth on Sunday Advertising." So much for twenty-five years ago. How many college presidents of today would be brave enough to take that heroic stand? We are becoming a nation of Sabbath breakers and the Sunday paper is contributing to our downfall. It is the part of modern civilization that could be dispensed with most easily.

Had it not have been for Dean Huntington, afterwards President of Boston University, my course would have ceased with the Freshman year. While away at work during the vacation following that year I received a letter from him stating that it would be impossible to assign to me the scholarship for which I had applied. My answer to this letter evidently impressed our good Dean favorably for I received a reply saying to come back anyway—the good Lord would provide some way. The sophomore year I shared a scholarship with a classmate awarded the most "All round girl" in the class. The last three years were much plainer sailing. It was easier to earn and to borrow. My older sister, Edith McAllister, a school-teacher, who had married at this time was eager for me to finish and lent me every penny she could scrape together. Though never demonstrative our clan was always loyal to each other when it came to a pinch. The Massachusetts Society for the Higher Education of Women also lent me a small amount. I would not have been my mother's daughter if I had not discharged all such obligations early in my teaching career.

My real love for sociology was aroused by browsing around the Boston Public Library in the preparation of my thesis on the truly noble and grandiloquent subject, "The Relation of Capitalistic Combinations to Labor." As I had finished the required four years' work with a spare term on my hands I devoted it to my thesis and the study of shorthand and typewriting. Worthington C. Ford, then organizing the Statistical Department of the Boston Public Library, was my ever willing and generous guide to wisdom on this stupendous subject. Day after day, book after book, I perused. It was about the time that forensic broadsides were

being brought to bear upon John D. Rockefeller for his strangulatory methods toward his small competitors. Countless the widows and orphans he sent to perdition by his high-handed usurpations. Plainly the Standard Oil Company was being built upon the shaky foundations of greed and might vs. right. One impression remains clear in my mind from that orgy of reading under Mr. Ford extending over three months' duration; labor was getting anything but a square deal. If in these days the shoe sometimes pinches on the other foot; if labor occasionally flicks its fingers and says to capital "Go to"—Capital may find itself to blame as it looks back to those balmy days before the public conscience was aroused to the rights of all classes. Not even Henry Ford himself can seem to find a solution of this Frankenstein of successive generations.

Social life at Boston University was delightful in its way; mayhap somewhat crude as student life is apt to be. Many of the out-of-town students located in rooming-houses and secured meals in public dining rooms on Beacon Hill. Our rooms were usually good and cheap; the meals were also good and cheap; both primary considerations even in those halcyon days of low prices. I remember distinctly beating even the low cost of living of the nineties by subsisting for one week on the sum of fifty-seven cents. It was when I, a Senior, was on Hancock Street rooming with two nice Sophomores from Winsted, Connecticut, Annie May Larkin and Sarah Rexford, now Mrs. Frank H. Noyes. We had all gone beyond our allowance and economy was a stern necessity. It was not hard to economize when we could slip down on Cambridge Street and buy a quart of milk in a *paper bag* for *four cents*. Hasty pudding was easily made and fortunately for us a favorite and doubtless healthful dish. I little realized then that Sadie Rexford would be the *dea ex-machina* to involve me in the fight for woman suffrage some seven years later upon the founding in Boston of the College Equal Suffrage League. Before exams other girls braced themselves for midnight study with strong coffee, which may have explained why they made Phi Beta Kappa. I was what might be termed "vulgarly healthy" and my physique seemed to depend upon plenty of out-door life and sleep to keep it so. I have had but few sick days in my life and none while in college.

Though we prided ourselves on the fact that "beaux" were not

essential to our happiness we had plenty of them. Theologues, Tech and B. U. law students, and occasionally a Harvard man would stray across the Charles to enjoy our cozy sitting-room with its gaily decorated walls. How students love college pendants and how we learn to hate them in later life, strange mixture that we are of barbarism and civilization! I pause for a moment here to assure fond parents that whatever may be feared from modern youth our association with young men was perfectly innocuous and indicative only of the advantages to be derived from co-education. We read together Browning, Tennyson and Emerson, with occasional visits to the theatre or football games. One of my quondam admirers pulled me through a stiff exam in ethics for which I have always been tremendously grateful. We did not smoke and we certainly did not drink, neither did our callers for that matter, possibly because we had not been taught the art of high living at home. Dean Lucy J. Franklin of Boston University tells me that when a young woman is asked why she smokes her reply usually is, "Because my mother does." In my day our mothers did not smoke and we were old enough and sensible enough to behave ourselves. I think my classmates will bear me out in this statement.

Several positions were opened to me at the close of my University course. One as foreign correspondent, and one on the paper I had served four years. In the first I felt my German might prove weak and I was scared from the second by dire warnings that Journalism would prove too hard for women. Even Elizabeth Jordan, who was among the first to make good in that profession, discouraged women from entering it. I think it was she who gave women journalists but five years to live on account of the hardships of reporting. It is true "Yellow Journalism" was rampant and the tasks given to women were frequently hard and distasteful. That these prophecies have not proved true is evinced by the number of women who have made good in newspaper work and still live to tell the tale. I would have liked to study a profession, law or medicine, but the where-withal was lacking and here again evil sooth-sayers were discouraging young women from entering these "masculine" occupations. Don't believe them, girl graduates of to-day, for they are still at their self-appointed task of holding up the natural progress of our sex. Women lawyers, doctors, ministers and journalists,

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are needed everywhere as never before. Women are needed in every occupation and on the same basis as men. "Equal pay for equal work" mind you! *Be ye satisfied with nothing less!*

Three teaching jobs loomed on the horizon and I chose the one in Cranston High School which act permanently changed my particular stage-setting from Massachusetts to Rhode Island. Some of the girls thought I was lucky in having so many prospective openings before graduation. One girl who wore double lens glasses lingered around an agency for sometime before getting placed. She was a much better student than I. Possibly she paid for the midnight oil in loss of that intangible something which inspires confidence in employers. What it is, I know not, but was mighty thankful when on the trail of a job that I had it.

No regrets have ever entered my mind for going to Boston University; it was the best college for my particular needs. To the girl who puts dormitory life before all else I would say "Try for it," though our women's colleges are now so crowded that it is like seeking admission to a fashionable women's club to gain admission. For the country girl I advocate the city college and for the city girl the country. For both, co-education if possible. The Latin Quarter of Boston is fascinating. The college settlements are an education in themselves and the Boston symphony concerts and wonderful church oratorios are a never failing source of delight. Notwithstanding the influx of foreigners, Boston still retains somewhat the rarified atmosphere of the Adamses and Quincys, the Cabots and Channings, the Peabodys and Warrens. The religious influences are good, better I should say than at most colleges. I believe George W. Coleman, my old Sunday School teacher at the Clarendon Baptist Church, would bear me out in this statement. Mr. Coleman when I first knew him was a young man of about twenty-eight (though I thought him an elderly man of thirty-five at least) who took his large class in Sunday School very seriously. He has since taken with equal seriousness the building up of the finest civic forum in the country, Ford Hall, and is now President of Babson Institute in Wellesley Hills. I look upon both him and Roger Babson as two of the finest types of American manhood for boys to imitate.

I did not dream as I made my exit from its halls of learning that twenty-five years later I would have occasion to send out the following circular as President of the Boston University Club of

Rhode Island. The ties of my beloved Alma Mater still bind with "hooks of steel."

WHAT BOSTON UNIVERSITY IS DOING FOR RHODE ISLAND

The annual meeting of the Boston University Club of Rhode Island will take the form this year of a Leap Year Dinner at the Crown Hotel on Friday, February 29, at 6:30 P. M. Some of our local celebrities,—and B. U. has a goodly number of men and women prominent in the public life of the State,—will tell of their vocations and avocations.

In order to aid those in charge of the dinner will you please make reservations at \$1.50 a plate for yourself, the good man or good wife, as the case may be, and for that friend who wishes to know what the B. U. Club is like, before February 28, by notifying Miss Susan S. Brayton, Secretary and Treasurer, 200 Congress Avenue. Tel. Broad 3260.

Do you know that B. U. numbers among its Rhode Island graduates Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts, the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General, Members of the General Assembly, one of the two women lawyers of the State, Teachers, Ministers, one United States Congressman, Doctors, Librarians, and the nice little Homebodies who are doing their bit to provide future graduates for their Alma Mater? Some of these have been invited to give brief talks on their vocation or avocation. All are asked to have some interesting experiences to record.

Republican, democrat, sinner or saint,
Come to our dinner, don't be an "ain't."
What are you doing to make B. U. shine
In Little Rhody, just over the line
From dear B. U. which to us has lent
Its wealth of culture and content?

Since we left those halls of classic fame
Some have gained wealth, some a name :
Some are judges, staid and sound,
Lawyers galore in our ranks abound.
In the teaching world our grads stand first ;
Doctors and preachers,—not one who durst

Say aught 'gainst their untiring work ;
In B. U. ranks we find no shirk.
Each is striving to do his best,
Onward and upward, fearful lest
The sun in undue haste go down
On some task unfinished, some seed unsown.

What do you say, shall we all agree
Hail-fellow-well-met for the nonce to be?
The sky is Her limit; for B. U. we find
No boundaries set by the finite mind.
Republican, democrat, sinner and saint,
Come to our dinner, DON'T be an AIN'T.

SARA M. ALGEO,
President, R. I. B. U. Club.

February 28, 1924.



MY "PAL," JOHN WESLEY MACCORMACK
Kansas City, Missouri

CHAPTER IV

TEACHING SCHOOL

I must pass over my eight years of teaching in the Cranston High School hastily, perhaps because it deserves the most space. Many of our best suffrage workers got their embryo training in the teaching profession than which no better field could be found for developing executive ability and concentration. I came to Rhode Island in September, 1899, to impart a combination of useful information and general culture to the youth of Cranston High School; Boston culture, I was inclined to call it at first until I learned that the word Boston was anathema to many of my co-workers and I was shrewd enough to change my tactics when I wanted to get a perfectly good Boston idea across. Upon my approach to the State I was earnestly assured by practically every inhabitant with whom I came in contact that Rhode Island was different, quite, quite different, from every other state in the Union. The reiteration of this sentiment has been made with pathetic constancy for the twenty-six years of my residence here. I am not sure that I agree with it after all its repetition. It seems to me that people in Rhode Island are "just folks" the same kind of folks as in my native state and all other states. On the whole their attitude toward my many vagaries has been a kindly one. I sometimes wonder if our reputation for naughtiness is not due to our willingness to talk about our own failings and peculiarities without trying as hard as we might to correct them.

One memory of my early teaching stands out with startling distinctness. The responsibility was enormous; it weighed too heavily upon my young shoulders. One kind, elderly gentleman where I boarded in Auburn, took me to task about it. He said to me after I had been teaching about two months, "Don't take your work so seriously, Miss MacCormack. You came here a jolly, laughing girl and now you are getting to be an old woman." He went on to say how the ability to make fun, to radiate happiness and invoke laughter, was too precious a gift to lose. Hitherto, I had had only myself to consider; one non-entity in a group of similar non-entities. Now I had become a teacher in the High School, an example to be emulated if virtuous, to be pilloried if I strayed from the path of rectitude. This sudden shuffling off

of youth and assumption of age seems horribly pathetic to me now from the vantage point of real maturity. I never hear of a new teacher coming to our town without hoping that somebody is taking thought about making her new environment agreeable—more agreeable than mine proved to be during portions of my teaching career. It is generally acknowledged that it is better for schools to have teachers from the outside but nobody wants the new teacher to board. It is generally conceded, also, that one should live in and become part of the community from which one draws one's salary. But how can this be done if no one wants home life disturbed by boarders? One of our Barrington teachers told me of a friend of hers from B. U. who was immured in a small village in Vermont who wrote her father that unless he came to take her to a matinee she would commit suicide. Teachers are quite human and the community owes them a pleasant home as well as a much larger remuneration than it seems inclined to pay them. They cannot be blamed for flocking into other occupations and toward western communities where teachers are fewer and salaries are higher.

I realize that I lingered too long about the schoolroom that first year. Every teacher should have some hobby outside her work to distract her attention from the constant grind of teaching the young idea to shoot. It is not good for the health of a teacher to be too conscientious in assisting backward pupils. Fresh air and recreation mean more for her and them also in the long run. One of my old teachers told me that she had to give up her work because her pupils were always dancing in perpetual motion before her eyes. What a disordered and unnatural state of mind for a poor mortal!

Amusements were scarce at first. Later Miss Ethel E. Tower and I formed a tennis club. While it was for the use of all, we ourselves got the most enjoyment out of it. Tennis has been a great joy since my first lesson under Miss Tower. My game is still "not so rotten" as I approach the half century mark. It is a recreation that may be pursued by almost all teachers as Rhode Island seems the State par excellence of inexpensive sport clubs. We skated at Roger Williams Park. For the first time in my life I rued bitterly the fact that I did not dance though I came later to see that my chances in such indulgence as a teacher might have been rare. There was no Plantations Club in those days

to fill the very real vacuum in the social life of the stranger within our gates. No words of mine can express the debt of gratitude that our State, for its influence extends beyond the city line, owes Anne Emery Allinson for the organization of such a social centre as this club has proved itself. My fervent hope is that the dues will be kept sufficiently low to permit its advantages to women workers in general. The Collegiate Alumnae was not very exciting and rather sober-hued in its personnel of members. The dream of some of us for a College Club seems to fade as the years go by.

One social avenue of real enjoyment was opened up to many of us. It was due to the thoughtfulness of that rare hostess, Mrs. Theodore Foster, whose Monday afternoon "At Homes" resembled those of the French salon in that an opportunity was opened to us out-landers to meet many of the really charming people of Providence and study art in a friendly and intelligent atmosphere. For many years Mrs. Foster received in her charming studio on the top floor of her beautiful home on Waterman Street with her gracious hospitality. After an hour's study of some subject relating to art either under the tutelage of Mr. and Mrs. Powers of the University Travel Bureau or by ourselves, tea was served. I remember once writing a paper upon the Symbolism of Early Christian Art, which ever after made the interior of every church of more interest.

It was at the home of Mrs. Foster that I met Mrs. Ellen T. Calder, who became for many years the closest friend I had in Providence. It was she who first impressed me with the vital hold upon the women of her day of woman suffrage. First as Nellie Tarr, then as the wife of William Douglas O'Connor and later as Mrs. Albert Calder, she seemed to have met all the leading lights of the Civil War period from Lincoln down. She never tired relating incidents of Walt Whitman and how her husband, Mr. O'Connor, dubbed him "The Good Gray Poet." She knew Harriet Beecher Stowe well and gave me the following letter from her. I have cherished it not only because of the value which attaches to any words of the genial author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but also for the sidelight it throws upon the subject of equal rights back in 1856, the year it was supposed to have been written by Mrs. Stowe. The word "supposed" brings up the suggestion that it is well in writing letters or other documents to note the

THREE PORTRAITS OF NELLY TARR



No lovelier face, more magical in lure,
A young man's heart e'er shaped from stars and night,—
Sweet maiden lips, whereo'er Love stays his flight ;
Deep eyes, which, all unweeting, smile secure.



A mother's face, with toil and care mature,
And shadowed with a mother's grief, whose blight
Makes life an ache borne in the heart's despite ;
Yet this and more, strong soul, shalt thou endure.



Smiling upon thy grandchild, all thy cares,
Thy bitter griefs long past, in thy serene
And gracious eld, rich in its heritage
Of memories—noble friendships, thunderous wars,
World-shaking causes; and thy heart still green
With new loves in the new world of thine age.

—*Harry Lyman Koopman*

ELLEN TARR CALDER



To her home I loved to stray
Sweet content to find alway.
She was of God's choicest mould
Great of heart, of wealth untold ;
Treasure trove of by-gone years
Filled with laughter, filled with tears.
May I see again thy face
When expires my day of grace.

year as well as the day of the month. This missive is enclosed in a tiny white envelope three and a half by two and a half inches, with dainty blue lining and sealed by a spray of forget-me-nots stamped in white. The lightish brown postage stamp marked three cents and engraved with a severe replica of George Washington is affixed to the *left* hand corner of the envelope in company with the official postal stamp. The note paper corresponds to the envelope; small with a fascinating lace-like edge in red, white and blue, indicating a time when patriotic feeling was expressed in material things more than in our generation. The fine, delicate handwriting tallies with the note paper, both of an age when letter writing was a fine art.

BROOKLYN, Ap 24.

DEAR NELLIE TARR

Here I are!—

A little the worse for ware, which is verse, as Mr. Peggotty says, or said. The ride in its physical and outward aspects, altogether detestable but in respects to the agreeableness of the company, quite delightful. There was enough brilliant talk wasted among us to have reformed the nation—we discussed Washington, the candidates—Dr. Bailey's principles—Hawthorne, De Quincey, Woman's Rights and Lucy Stone and the French Revolution.

There was a very agreeable gentleman joined himself unto our company who is deeply versed in French literature and history and who took me under his special charge and whose name I cannot tell without running up two pair of stairs to look at his card. By dint, however, of all this, the joilting, shambling, changing, ferry-boating and omnibusing became agreeable enough. This morning I mourned the want of your coffe in affecting terms—the more so that I forgot to take down that Salem coffe merchants direction and now Nelly Tarr I charge you ask Dr. Bailey for it and put it into your answer to this.

Moreover also I find I have left one or two notes from friends which were on the table in my room—will you please see and if you find any send to me.

In addition to the three books to be given to Miss Goodloe is Wheeler's History of North Carolina.

Having thus made you my executor, I send you herewith my thanks in advance.

And as for the girl whom I left in bed give her my best love, as good love as anybody has in that second rate style of existence which follows two half nights' sleep and more than a day's travelling. Tell her to be good and write to me,—and consider it an

act of grace, for I, tho a poor writer, am an excellent reader and appreciative recipient of letters.

I am rather *Homesick* for you all. Hawthorne speaks of the "nameless ache" of a past phase of life prolonging itself into the present—it seems so in this case. Give my love to one Doctor and Mrs. Bailey, the undivided whole and the nicest "Union" I know in these days.

If any nice person that I like enquires for me present them my regards. I leave for Andover next Monday—direct your letter there—and be sure to tell me all about our William.

Effectly yours,

H. B. STOWE.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" appeared in Dr. Bailey's paper "The National Era," in Washington, D. C., commencing in 1851.

The conversion of Isabella Beecher Hooker to woman suffrage always amused Mrs. Calder. Isabella it seemed was loathe to fall in with the views of the rest of her family in favor of suffrage for women, but when at last she did become a suffragist she fairly strutted, lording it over her friends with the air of "Now, I, Isabella Beecher Hooker have joined the ranks, women will soon be enfranchised." Alas! since that day there have been many Isabella Beecher Hookers and time has fooled them all.

Among my choicest possessions are the first two volumes of the History of Woman Suffrage with Dr. Channing's review enclosed and the Life of Susan B. Anthony, presented to Mrs. Calder by Miss Anthony. Dear Mrs. Calder is one of my choicest memories. Many a delightful tea we enjoyed at her cozy apartment on Hope Street. Many a dark day (and we all have them) she tided over with her delightful reminiscences of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, the Alcotts, Emerson and Sanborn in return for which I gave her my undivided confidence in school difficulties and love affairs, for even school marms have such mundane experiences. She was a safe and worthy guide.

After three years of teaching, in the summer of 1902, I took a trip to Europe. Our principal, Dr. Charles M. Poor, who took his life work as an educator seriously, advised me to do this if I wished to hold my position in the field of modern language teaching. His advice was good but it was necessary again to borrow money of my sister to make this trip, which cost me about the equivalent of my first year's salary. What a parody upon the

proper treatment by the public of its teachers who would really like to do their duty in a large and generous way. As a teacher of French I took weekly lessons, I boarded in a French professor's family, I subscribed to a French magazine, and I borrowed money to study in Paris at the Sorbonne—all of which I do not regret. Nevertheless such a mode of living did not provide a bank account. Sometimes I wonder how a guilty public dares look its teachers in the face when it considers its long-established record of parsimony, injustice and positive dishonesty if one considers the principle of "equal pay for equal work" rather than "might makes right" as an ethical code to govern public as well as private business. In a recent survey of teachers' salaries in Rhode Island we found our State guilty on all counts: women are discriminated against in favor of men especially in our larger cities; with women (not with men) marriage is as good as a resignation and the scale of salaries both for men and women is lower than in other states. The report of the National Woman's Party of Washington, D. C., upon the discriminations against women teachers in Rhode Island is well worth diligent study by earnest citizens: I hope that some members of the Rhode Island Legislature to whom we have appealed for years to remedy these conditions will see these words of a former teacher who knows whereof she speaks and who has no job to be sacrificed on the altar of plain speaking and will inaugurate a movement to add Rhode Island to the list of the eleven states which have written the principle of equal pay for equal work for men and women into their statutes.

WOMEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

There being no law in Rhode Island securing women teachers equal rights with men teachers, the custom of discriminating against women in favor of the men flourishes in practically every part of the state.

All the best positions go to men and the principle of equal pay for equal work is apparently unknown in this profession even though it was among the earliest professions open to women.

For instance, in Providence the salaries of men high school teachers range from \$300 to \$400 more per year than the salaries of the women high school teachers.

In Newport, Westerly and Warwick women are discriminated against in favor of men teachers to the extent of at least \$200 per year in salary.

Moreover, in some parts of the state it is a rule that if a woman teacher marries she forfeits her position. For instance, a rule of the School Committee of Woonsocket provides:

"Should a female teacher marry, her place shall thereupon become vacant."

In some places, as for example Central Falls and Providence, the school committee will not permit the employment of married women except as substitute teachers.

It is needless to say that marriage does not affect the employment of men teachers.

It was during the latter part of my teaching career that I became the secretary of the girls' clubs of Rhode Island, when they banded together into the organization called the Rhode Island League of Working Women's Clubs. This movement among women workers with its three principles of non-sectarianism, self-government and self-support is broad in its scope and gave me my first glimpses of the results to be obtained by women pulling together for women. As a training school it was good but it never had the vital grip upon my interest that suffrage came to have later on.

In 1906 when the Boston College Equal Suffrage League was formed and a former college chum, Sarah Rexford, now Mrs. Frank H. Noyes of Melrose Highlands, invited me to join I little dreamed that this simple act would change the trend of my whole life's activities. Nor did my prospective husband. He might have hesitated on the brink of the chasm marked "Votes for Women." I doubt it for his mother was bold enough to study Greek, a very forward thing in her day, so he had formed a likeness for boldness in women.

Events of great moment were taking place in suffrage realms in 1906. This year marked the passing of that dominant spirit, Susan B. Anthony; this may have been the occasion for the formation of State College Leagues throughout the country. This year initiated the spectacular activities of Emmeline Pankhurst, of which more anon. Far away Finland enfranchised its women and the United States of America were bracing themselves for the last struggle, while sub-pioneers like myself, all over the country, rallied to the aid of the great pioneers who were getting a bit weary of the long drawn out contest.

The following year, 1907, with some reluctance, I decided to give up teaching for matrimony. It was with somewhat of a

scary feeling on both sides that we considered this step. We were no longer young and the freedom of bachelordom and spinsterhood is not to be despised. Teaching had become more enjoyable. The horrible responsibility had lifted with habit and I had once again after eight years' experience become a non-entity among like non-entities, not an Atlas with the world on my shoulders—a comfortable state of mind I assure you.



MR. AND MRS. ALGEO AT HOME ON ANGELL STREET

After a summer's trip to Scotland and Ireland with my mother when we visited her old haunts, looked up relatives and family crests, rode in Irish jaunting cars and bought for a mere song the most beautiful linen embroidered to suit the ultra fastidious bride, James Walker Algeo, erstwhile of Philadelphia, and Sara Louise MacCormack were united in the holy bonds of matrimony



ALGEO HOME ON ANGELL STREET

on Sept. 19, 1907, by our dearly beloved President Huntington of Boston University, and after a wedding trip in Canada, settled down for fourteen years of happy wedded life in our attractive home on Angell Street, Providence, which we had cannily bought some months before. As a trap for newly-weds the house is invincible. May I say for the benefit of the young and timorous and the old and timid who hesitate to take the plunge that my husband looked me straight in the eye on our first wedding anniversary and said "Wouldn't we have been fools if we hadn't?" and we have never changed our minds since. My husband came from good North of Ireland stock by the way of Philadelphia. The Gayleys and the Algeos had intermingled their family strains on the other side and continued to do so in this country. Some of them had acquired large fortunes like James Gayley, one of Carnegie's boys; some, wisdom like Prof. Charles Gayley of the University of California, and Grandfather Gayley, President of the Delaware Classical Institute; others were just good honest, clean-cut Americans like my husband who has proved himself upon all occasions a Christian gentleman. No man deserves higher praise.

It was on a windy day in November after the great event, while I sat on the floor fondly manipulating our first parlor draperies that a handsome pair of horses drove up to the door and Mrs. George R. Gladding stepped out of her carriage and involved me in a drama or melodrama which was to hold my enthralled attention until the final ratification of Tennessee on August 26, 1920.

CHAPTER V

LUCRETIA MOTT, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON

Mrs. George D. Gladding, daughter of the devoted suffrage pioneer, Ardelia Cooke Dewing, came to plead with me to help organize a College Equal Suffrage League in Rhode Island. The windy day, the stately carriage and span, her eloquence, all had their effect and I fell into a net whose meshes daily became drawn more tightly about our home. The League was organized Dec. 11, 1907, with Miss Florence Garvin as President and her "fidus Achates" as secretary. So important was this move on our part in bringing the college women into suffrage activities that it will receive extended mention later when we reach the sub-pioneer days in this chronicle.

Naturally I became interested in what the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association was doing. Judging from the first meeting I attended, suffrage was at a low ebb in 1907. A few elderly ladies were there and the gathering, while earnest, was not exciting. The past history, however, proved glorious. In order that the younger generation, which is not given to delving into lengthy histories may have an idea of the fine work done by their foremothers, I have written Anna Garlin Spencer, author of the early chapter on woman suffrage in Rhode Island, in "The History of Woman Suffrage," asking if I might quote in full or in part from her words. She sends the following gracious response:

"I should be glad to have you use the whole or any part of the History chapter on Rhode Island, which I wrote, but I think the permission should have to come from the Editor of the volume, as it is part of her large historical contribution to the Suffrage cause,—Mrs. Ida Husted Harper.

"If you have permission to use the Rhode Island Chapter from the 4th Volume, I hope you will find space for the record regarding the opening of college opportunities to girls at Brown. The impression has been, I find, the more "conservative" women accomplished that. The more conservative made it an affiliated college. The Woman Suffrage women started out "to open Brown University to women" on equal terms.

"There is much confusion as to the early history in that connection. I do not mean to criticise. Doubtless all went as was best; surely, easiest, after the ball was set rolling. But the facts are as I state them in the Rhode Island Chapter.

"I wish you all success in your work. I am hoping that the material of such richness and value which Mrs. Harper has collected and set in order, a stupendous task which she alone of all the suffragists could, I believe, render, will find place in different smaller and more popular volumes in relation to different special interests.

Yours sincerely,

ANNA GARLIN SPENCER."

Ida Husted Harper to whom every suffragist owes an unpayable debt of gratitude for her life-long allegiance to compiling the history of the suffrage movement adds her consent to that of Mrs. Spencer:

"I am quite willing for you to use Mrs. Spencer's and Miss Yates' chapters on Rhode Island, provided due credit is given to them and to the History and its authors. I would advise you to search Vols. I, II, and III of the History, also for matter on Rhode Island.

IDA HUSTED HARPER."

Glorious as the history of Rhode Island women proves to be it is necessary to search diligently to find it for as a psychoanalyst recently expressed it "women use their creative instincts in bearing children, not books" and alas! other chroniclers have they none—the men folk are too busy writing up their own deeds of valor. We are indebted to Roger Williams for his appreciative record of the Indian women. In his "A Key Into the Language of America" we find their example worthy of emulation.

"Their women constantly beat all their corn with hand; they plant it, dress it, gather it, barn it, and take as much pains as any people in the world, which labor is questionless our cause of the extraordinary ease of childbirth. . . .

"It is almost incredible what burdens the poor women carry of corn, of fish, of beans, of mats and a child beside." On the contrary he says of the men: "Some men do not use tobacco, but they are rare birds; for generally all the men throughout the country have a tobacco-bag with a pipe in it, hanging at their back; sometimes they make such great pipes of wood and stone, that they are two feet long, with men or beasts carved so big or massive, that a man may be hurt mortally by one of them."

The Indians, too, had their natural inhibitions on the mooted subject of dress:

"Their male children go stark naked and have no apron until they come to ten or twelve years of age; their female children,

they, in a modest blush, cover with a little apron of an hand breadth from birth."

No other state was settled under such vivid, tumultuous, and romantic conditions as Rhode Island. As Thomas W. Bicknell describes it in his "History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations."

"In March, 1638, a strange event occurred,—the most marvellous and the most momentous in the early history of the Bay Colony. It was no less than the expulsion of a large group of the most intelligent, the most influential, the wealthiest citizens, freemen, office-holders, church and society workers of Boston. More than sixty families—over 300 souls,—owning lands and houses in Boston, conducting important businesses, and related by many strong ties to all the affairs of the town and Colony, were driven in the wintry season to depart from the town they had helped to found, into a cruel exile, whither, only a wise and overruling Providence could know or determine. In this strange exodus three women played what might be considered the leading parts.

Anne Hutchinson was the leading spirit in this "strife of tongues," which culminated in the hasty exit to Rhode Island; Mary Dyer, the defiant spirit, which no threat of man could quell, and Catherine Marbury Scott, the fascinating Mona Lisa, who was able to convert the shrewd Roger Williams to her mode of worship; Governor Winthrop wrote of her:

"At Providence things grew still worse, for a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one Scott, being affected with Anabaptistry and going to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken (or rather emboldened) by her to make open profession thereof."

I love to contemplate the picture history gives us of these three women, always capable, ever disturbing, never disheartened, the truly great mothers of an infant colony founded on the principle of civil and religious liberty.

I could weep over that tragic scene,—which reminds me in its exquisite friendship of that later one when Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton expelled as delegates from the Anti-Slavery Convention arm in arm took their historic walk down Great Queen Street, when Anne Hutchinson was expelled from the first church in Boston. In the closing words of Mr. Bicknell's fine portrayal:

"As Anne Hutchinson turned from the altar to leave the house, bearing in her heart the heavy anathemas of the church

she had loved, out of the awe-stricken throng came Mary Dyer, one of her disciples and devoted friends, took her arm and walked by her side down the aisle and out of the house." . . .

Twenty-four years later, Mary Dyer was hung on Boston Common for being a Quakeress. About ten years later Mrs. Scott was given "ten cruel stripes with a three-fold corded knotted whip" in the cause of *justice and humanity*.

With traditions such as these can we blame the Quakers of Rhode Island for priding themselves on their ancestry a trifle more than we foreigners can understand? They are like Florence Howe Hall in the story which Maude Howe Elliott sometimes tells on her sister. Little Flossie was assuming too great airs for so small a body as it seemed to her mother, so Mrs. Howe took occasion to remind her daughter that she was a very tiny person and it would be well to conduct herself accordingly. Little Flossie drew herself up to the full extent of her small stature, looked her mother straight in the eye and said, "I may *look* small on the outside, but I am big on the inside."

I am indebted to Volume I, History of Woman Suffrage for the next really delicious hint upon the life of Rhode Island women in pre-revolutionary days. Chapter VIII on Massachusetts tells us:

"During those early days, the women of various Colonies—Virginia, New York, Rhode Island, Massachusetts—formed Anti-Tea Leagues. In Providence, Rhode Island, young ladies took the initiative; twenty-nine daughters of prominent families, meeting under the shade of the sycamore trees at Roger Williams spring, there resolving to drink no more tea until the duty upon it was repealed. The name of one of these young ladies, Miss Coddington, has been preserved, to whose house they all adjourned to partake of a frugal repast; hyperion taking the place of the hated bohea. In Newport, at a gathering of ladies, where both hyperion and bohea were offered, every lady present refused the hated bohea, emblem of political slavery. In Boston, early in 1769, the matrons of three hundred families bound themselves to use no more tea until the tax upon it was taken off. The young ladies also entered into a similar covenant, declaring they took this step, not from personal motives, but from a sense of patriotism and a regard for posterity. Liberty, as alone making life of value, looked as sweet to them as to their fathers. The Women's Anti-Tea Leagues of Boston were formed nearly five years previous to the historic 'Boston Tea Party,' when men disguised as Indians, threw the East India Company's tea overboard, and six years before the declaration of war.

"American historians ignoring woman after man's usual custom, have neglected to mention the fact that every paper in Boston was suspended during its invasion by the British, except the chief rebel newspapers of New England, *The Massachusetts Gazette* and *North Boston News-Letter*, owned and edited by a woman, Margaret Draper.

"They make small note of Women's Anti-Tea Leagues, and the many instances of their heroism during the Revolutionary period, equaling as they did, any deeds of self-sacrifice and bravery that man himself can boast.

"The men of Boston, in 1773, could with little loss to themselves, throw overboard a cargo of foreign tea, well knowing that for the last five years this drink had not been allowed in their houses by the women of their own families. Their reputation for patriotism was thus cheaply earned in destroying what did not belong to them and what was of no use to them. Their wives, daughters, mothers and sisters drank raspberry, sage and birch, lest by the use of foreign tea they should help rivet the chains of oppression upon their country. Why should not the American Revolution have been successful, when women so nobly sustained republican principles, taking the initiative in self-sacrifice and pointing the path to man by patriotic example?"

In the trying days following the Revolution women in Rhode Island, as elsewhere, were too busy with the immediate needs of their large families to pay great attention to affairs of State and Nation. We wonder to what extent their influence exerted itself in that defiant act of refusal to send delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, and the further reluctance to ratify that document until the Senate had passed a bill for severing commercial relations between the United States and Rhode Island, when our small state ratified the Federal constitution, *by a majority of* only two votes. A stubborn way of acting on the part of "Little Rhody," but a bit lovable and "spunky" just the same!

The Empire State in lordly manner never hesitates to claim all the honors which accrue to her and sometimes we, in other states, think she appropriates our laurels also. In Chapter IV, on New York in Volume I of the *History of Woman Suffrage* we find the following words:

"But the most interesting fact in her history, (i. e., New York), to woman is that she was the first State to emancipate wives from the slavery of the old common law of England and to secure to them equal property rights. This occurred in 1848."

I object to this statement for two reasons. Woman have not yet secured anything approaching equal property rights and in the second place, Rhode Island deserves the honor of actually passing the first equal property rights bill. Of the Woman's Rights Convention in Boston, in 1855, we read, in the same history:

"Caroline H. Dall, Ellen M. Tarr, and Paulina Wright Davis presented carefully prepared digests of the laws of several of the New England States. Mrs. Davis said: 'In 1844, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of Rhode Island by Hon. Wilkins Updike securing to married women their property 'under certain regulations.'" The step was a progressive one and hailed at that time as a bright omen for the future. Other States have followed the example, and the right of woman to some control of her property has been recognized. In 1847, Vermont passed similar enactments; in 1848-'49, Connecticut, New York, and Texas; in 1850-'52, Alabama and Maine; in 1853, New Hampshire, Indiana, Wisconsin and Iowa, followed. But the provisions 'under certain regulations' left married women almost as helpless as before."

Mrs. Davis further says:

"If in 1855, from the practical workings of these statutes, we find ourselves compelled to pronounce them despotic in spirit, degrading and tyrannical in effect, we do not the less give honor to the man who was so far in advance of his age as to conceive the idea of raising woman a little in the scale of being."

As my dear friend, Mrs. Calder, (the Ellen M. Tarr on this committee), used to say, "Justice is justice, whether applied to the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, for which I found little sympathy,—or woman's rights." New York may claim a better property rights bill but the honor of being *first*, I stoutly maintain, belongs to "Little Rhody." Our property rights for married women still leave much to be desired. They cannot sue for loss of services as their services still belong to their husband; dower and curtesy rights are by no means equal; husband and wife cannot contract together; and equal guardianship laws are not yet in existence in Rhode Island. We need all our early honors, it would seem, to offset recent negligence.

As this discussion of property rights brings us into the midst of the heroic struggle for the ballot in which two Rhode Island women played a valiant and worthy part, I will devote my next chapter to our own brave pioneers—Paulina Wright Davis and Elizabeth Buffum Chace. Before coming to an appreciation

of the work of these two brave souls who belong peculiarly to Rhode Island, I desire to place before my readers a very vital portion of our early suffrage history, which belongs to all states and without which no state history would be at all complete. I refer to the first equal rights Convention of these United States, held in Seneca Falls, New York, on the 19th and 20th of July,



affec^y. friend
Lucretia Mott

1848, and the momentous events leading up to it. The cause or causes of this convention, too numerous to mention here, were due to the restlessness on the part of woman, her objection to belonging

to the subject half of humanity, and her desire for intellectual development. Man had long since committed his initial mistake, according to Mary Johnston, of permitting women to learn the alphabet and now she was eager to enter the trades, the professions and every form of activity open to men. Already the Anti-Slavery cause had developed orators and executives. Women took kindly to newspaper work. It is of interest to know that the first newspaper in Rhode Island, and for that matter in America, was printed by a woman, Anna Franklin, in 1732.

The occasion, as we used to say in the class room in describing the great wars, was the expulsion of the "Female" delegates from the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, London, June 12, 1840. If you will turn to the History of Woman Suffrage, Volume I, page 54, and read on, you will be enthralled by the masterly manner in which the women delegates from America, women who had made untold sacrifices in behalf of the slave, were refused their credentials as delegates by an "overwhelming majority." Even the American men delegates, including Wendell Phillips, accepted the exclusion of the women delegates with equanimity, which goes "to show that it is almost impossible for the most liberal of men to understand what liberty means to women." One man only seemed to understand—

"William Lloyd Garrison; having been delayed at sea, arrived too late to take part in the debates. Learning on his arrival that the women had been rejected as delegates, he declined to take his seat in the Convention; and, through all those interesting discussions on a subject so near his heart, lasting ten days he remained a silent spectator in the gallery. What a sacrifice for a principle so dimly seen by the few, and so ignorantly ridiculed by the many! Brave, noble Garrison! May this one act keep his memory fresh forever in the hearts of his countrywomen!"

In justice we must also state that Nathaniel P. Rogers, editor of the *Herald of Freedom* in Concord, New Hampshire, shared the martyrdom of Mr. Garrison by sitting with him in the gallery.

And now comes those stately lines:

"As Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton wended their way, arm in arm, down Great Queen Street that night, reviewing the exciting scenes of the day, they agreed to hold a woman's rights convention on their return to America, as the men to whom they had just listened had manifested their great need of some education on that question. . . . The movement for woman's

suffrage, both in England and America, may be dated from this World's Anti-Slavery Convention."

In preparation for the epoch-making event four women gathered in the parlor of Mrs. Mary Ann McClintock three days before to consider the *modus operandi* of such a brand-new undertaking. They were Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Mary Ann McClintock. To quote verbatim from the historic report:

"On the first attempt to frame a resolution; to crowd a complete thought, clearly and concisely, into three lines; they felt as helpless and hopeless as if they had been asked to construct a steam engine. And the humiliating fact may as well now be recorded that before taking the initiative step, those ladies resigned themselves to a faithful perusal of various masculine productions. The reports of Peace, Temperance, and Anti-Slavery conventions were examined, but all alike seemed too tame and pacific for the inauguration of a rebellion such as the world has never before seen. They knew women had wrongs, but how to state them was the difficulty, and this was increased from the fact that they themselves were fortunately organized and conditioned; they were neither 'sour old maids,' 'childless women,' nor divorced wives as the newspapers declared them to be. While they felt the insults incident to sex, in many ways, as every proud, thinking woman must, in the laws, religion, and literature of the world, and in the invidious and degrading sentiments of all nations, yet they had not in their own experience endured the coarser forms of tyranny resulting from unjust laws, or association with immoral and unscrupulous men, but they had souls large enough to feel the wrongs of others, without being scarified in their own flesh.

"After much delay, one of the circle took up the Declaration of 1776, and read it aloud with much spirit and emphasis, and it was at once decided to adopt the historic document with some slight changes such as substituting 'all men' for 'King George.' "

"Books were searched diligently to find the requisite eighteen grievances. One youthful lord remarked, 'Your grievances must be grievous indeed, when you are obliged to go to books in order to find them out.' "

On account of its immediate bearing upon our present state of society the Declaration of Sentiments adopted at the Seneca Falls Convention, 1848, is here given, save for the preamble, in its entirety.

Only one of these demands put forth in 1848, that of the right

to vote, the most unpopular resolution advanced and insisted upon by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, has been completely won.

It is in the hands of the women of today to carry to its conclusion the movement for the complete freedom of women, which



Elizabeth Cady Stanton

was begun by the pioneer women of 1848. If this book can further that high resolve by our iota then it is well worth the trouble in writing and the expense of printing.

One sentence from the preamble is very significant in view of the class legislation, which has sprung up about women and her work:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all *men and women are created equal*."

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS ADOPTED AT SENECA FALLS CONVENTION, 1848

The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having as direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in Church, as well as in State, but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

In entering upon the great work before us, we anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, and ridicule; but we shall use every instrumentality within our power to effect our object. We shall employ agents, circulate tracts, petition the State and National legislatures, and endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in our behalf. We hope this Convention will be followed by a series of Conventions embracing every part of the country.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT SENECA FALLS CONVENTION, 1848

Resolved, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of woman, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other."

Resolved, That all laws which prevent woman from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority.

Resolved, That woman is man's equal—was intended to be so by the Creator, and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such.

Resolved, That the women of this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live, that they may no longer publish their degradation by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance, by asserting that they have all the rights that they want.

Resolved, That inasmuch as man while claiming for himself intellectual superiority, does accord to woman moral superiority, it is pre-eminently his duty to encourage her to speak and teach, as she has an opportunity, in all religious assemblies.

Resolved, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the same social state, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman.

Resolved, That the objection of indelicacy and impropriety, which is so often brought against woman when she addresses a public audience, comes with a very ill-grace from those who encourage, by their attendance, her presence on the stage, in the concert, or in feats of the circus.

Resolved, That woman has too long rested satisfied in the circumscribed limits which corrupt customs and a perverted application of the Scriptures have marked out for her, and that it is time she should move in the enlarged sphere which her great Creator has assigned her.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right to the elective franchise.

Resolved, That the equality of human rights results necessarily from the fact of the identity of the race in capabilities and responsibilities.

Resolved, therefore, That, being invested by the Creator with the same capabilities, and the same consciousness of responsibility for their exercise, it is demonstrably the right and duty of woman, equally with man, to promote every righteous cause by every righteous means; and especially in regard to the great subjects of morals and religion, it is self-evidently her right to participate with her brother in teaching them, both in private and in public, by writing and by speaking, by any instrumentalities proper to be used, and in any assemblies proper to be held; and this being a self-evident truth growing out of the divinely implanted principles of human nature, any custom or authority adverse to it, whether modern or wearing the hoary sanction of antiquity, is to be regarded as a self-evident falsehood, and at war with mankind.

Resolved, That the speedy success of our cause depends upon the zealous and untiring efforts of both men and women, for the overthrow of the monopoly of the pulpit, and for the securing to woman an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions, and commerce.

It is with a feeling of awe and reverence mingled with wonder that I close this chapter with the words of those three valiant pioneers who placed on record in the History of Woman Suffrage so clear a picture of the first equal rights convention. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage have passed to their reward, but verily "their works continue in their praise."



Susan B. Anthony

"Thus it will be seen that the Declaration and resolutions in the very first Convention, demanded all the most radical friends of the movement have since claimed—such as equal rights in the universities, in the trades and professions; the right to vote; to share in all political offices, honors, and emoluments; to complete equality in marriage, to personal freedom, property, wages, children; to make contracts; to sue, and be sued; and to testify in courts of justice."

About this time such choice phrases as "petticoat government," "jaw-logic," "broom-stick ethics," "blue stockings," "woman's sphere," "hen conventions" and "Woman's place is in the home" began to emanate from the press of the country. It was to this memorable convention that Susan B. Anthony owed her conversion to woman suffrage.

CHAPTER VI

ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE AND PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS

No words of mine can add to the lustre that rightfully belongs to Rhode Island's two great local and national leaders—Paulina Wright Davis and Elizabeth Buffum Chace. Fortunately history has given them a fair meed of praise. Paulina Davis through her own writings and speeches occupies a prominent place in the History of Woman Suffrage and Elizabeth Buffum Chace is conspicuous in these pages as well as in her daughter's loving and pleasing memoirs, "Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Her Environment." Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman in her portrayal of her mother's life brings out in tender, homely touches how completely Mrs. Chace lived in the stream of life in the 19th century, never on the banks as a passive on-looker. From early youth her career was fraught with the responsibility of great causes which she welcomed as spiritual offspring. Notwithstanding other claimants, to her we may attribute the words:

"There is no better influence toward the building up of a strong, virtuous manhood and womanhood, than the espousal in early life, of some great humanitarian cause."

Of that first and startling humanitarian cause in which she was so great a factor she says:

"Thus was I born and baptized into the Anti-Slavery spirit."

A few word pictures from Mrs. Wyman's book gives glimpses into this quiet, grave and steadfast personality better than words of mine:

"Her ancestors, with few exceptions, had been Quakers from the time of George Fox, and they had been residents of what is now Rhode Island, since an early colonial period. Their Quakerism had prevented many of them from rising to great social or political eminence, but they had led solid and respected lives and had served their own desires and the common welfare with due zeal and sober steadfastness."

Arnold Buffum, her father, naturally chose the stony road we judge. He was, we are told,

"A Federalist, who thought ill of Thomas Jefferson, of Thomas Paine, and Andrew Jackson."

To grasp the full import of these words it is well to read "The Life of John Marshall," by Albert Beveridge, the best biography of modern times.

"Arnold Buffum's main business was the manufacture and sale of hats, but he was also an inventor, a sheep raiser, a land speculator, and a lecturer.

"The New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized by twelve men on the 6th of January, 1832. The constitution of the Society was first published in the *Liberator* of February 18, 1832, together with a list of its officers, William Lloyd Garrison, being corresponding secretary and Arnold Buffum, president."

"He was moreover actively employed in temperance work."

We are not surprised that with such traditions the anti-slavery cause became a life-long burden to the conscientious Mrs. Chace and that in those days of loose social customs she established herself firmly on the side of temperance.

Mrs. Chace grew up in a staid and serious environment. Her early married life was sad indeed. Five children came to the Chace Homestead during those early years. Again we turn to Mrs. Wyman for her tragic experience:

"George Arnold, her first child, was a genial-natured boy who died before he was quite nine years old. To his mother came the extreme agonies of human experience, while she was herself still at an age when many women are merely girls grown a little too old to dance with college boys. Adelia Bartlett, the next in order of birth, died six months after George did. The mother remembered her as a blonde, womanly little creature. Susan, born in 1834, the third in order of birth, was the first to die. Mrs. Chace having been the mother of four children, for a time had only one, John Gould, who lived for five charming years and, dying, left an only brother, the baby Oliver, whose death made Mrs. Chace childless."

Fortunate indeed was Mrs. Chace in having four more children to fill her empty arms and hungry heart in her later married life: Samuel Oliver, born in 1843; Arnold Buffum, born in 1845; Elizabeth (Lillie) Buffum, born 1847; Edward Gould in 1849, and Mary in 1852. The influence of Arnold Buffum Chace as Chancellor of Brown University has since become almost as far reaching as that of his distinguished mother.

Rigorous discipline bears its fruit. The Anti-Slavery School was a stern one for those who could learn its lessons. Mrs. Wyman describes it in the following words:

"The Pioneer Abolitionists were hardy thinkers—deep thinkers, too, profoundly understanding cause and effect in human movement. They were also skillful workers of a new method. They showed what might be called mechanical ability as to propaganda, both seizing and creating opportunity and instrumentality to get their facts and ideas where the public must notice them. . . . The hearts of unknown Northern mothers had assured the triumph of freedom long years before the "stainless soldier stood" and fell attacking the fortress where Slavery defended its monstrous existence.

As a matter of curiosity and to prove a theory which I have always accepted, that of "blood will tell," I have tabulated the names of those who, we find were associated most closely with Mrs. Chace in her Anti-Slavery efforts either as frequent guests in her household, as lecturers at the meetings she unceasingly arranged or as participants in deporting the slaves across the border. It was almost invariably from the descendants of this group that the quickest response came with help in the suffrage cause in the closing era of the struggle.

Elizabeth Buffum Chace was born December 9, 1806, and lived to the good old age of 93 years, passing away on December 12, 1899. Before 1860, she came in close contact with the following group of earnest reformers to whom it may be said, we owe the emancipation of the slave: Rev. Samuel May, Jr., Stephen and Abby Kelley Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, Charles Remond and his sister, Sarah, Mrs. Caroline M. Severance, J. A. Howland, Howard Malcolm, Peleg Clarke, Charles Perry, George William Curtis, Moncure Daniel Conway, Captain Drayton, William W. Brown, Sallie Holley, George James Adams, Robert Adams, Sojourner Truth, Adin Ballou, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Henry C. Wright, Sophia Little, Henry Ward Beecher, Mrs. Edward Harris, Rev. John T. Sargent, Susan Sisson, the Hutchinson family, Joshua R. Giddings, Joanna Ballou, Fredrika Brewer, William Henry Channing, Lucy Stone, Theodore Parker, Margaret Fuller, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké, Mrs. Marcus Spring, Mrs. Chace's sister, Wendell Phillips, Maria Weston Chapman, Charles C. Burleigh, Harriet Martineau, John Brown of Osawatimie and his wife Mary E. Day Brown, Nathaniel B. Borden, and Sarah Gould Borden, his wife.

Mrs. Chace never had the "inferiority complex" about herself

or her sex. Her mental processes were too clear, her sense of justice too keen for her to have bothered with the silly twaddle emanating from some of the clever "new-thoughters" of our modern day. Though she realized that men predominated in work of a public nature she did not underestimate the power and courage of women nor did she hesitate to give them their word of commendation. In her history of women in the Anti-Slavery movement, at a meeting of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, April 23rd, 1889, Mrs. Chace said in regard to woman's part in the Anti-Slavery work of her State:

"I have in mind some women here in Rhode Island, whose names are unknown to fame, but on whose private record stands a history, worthy to be written in letters of gold, as the friends of humanity, in a sense of which the Rhode Island women of this generation have no knowledge or conception. In those dark days, when to speak an anti-slavery word, or do an anti-slavery deed, meant odium, if not peril, these women, then young, cherished, talented, refined, stood always by the right, through experiences worthy of the age of martyrdom. The six Sisson sisters of Pawtucket, the Browns of East Greenwich, daughter of a man who bore worthily the name of the hero of Harper's Ferry, the Burgess sisters of Little Compton, the wives of two of the prominent abolitionists of Providence, Anna Fairbanks and Sophia James, the daughters of William Chace of Pleasant Valley, Elizabeth Brown, a young colored teacher of this city, whom the others that knew her took by the hand as a co-laborer, Amarancy Paine, Susan R. Harris, Caroline Ashley, Hannah Shove, and others whose names I fail to recall, must never be forgotten in the record made by Rhode Island in this great struggle for human freedom."

However fascinating the story of underground railroads, social ostracism and physical martyrdom, as this is neither a chronicle of the abolition movement nor early temperance strivings, though both reforms have been closely intertwined with woman suffrage from their beginnings, I pass hastily on to Elizabeth Buffum Chace as the chief pioneer of the first half century of the Equal Rights contest in Rhode Island. By all natural ties of blood and friendship she was closely akin to the Massachusetts suffragists and worked in close harmony with them. When once the emancipation of the slave had been accomplished, Mrs. Chace turned her attention with undivided energy to the emancipation of women.

In 1891, Jacob Bright writes to Mrs. Chace from London:

"Your pages show what women have done in this great cause (Anti-Slavery) and you are right in calling attention on the last

page of your Record, to 'the work of far wider significance to the progress of all mankind than was the Anti-Slavery struggle.' To that work,—the civil and political equality of the sexes—more influence is every day being given in England, and though the victory may yet be far off, the educational advantages of the movement are great and are realized year by year."

Suffragists of my generation used to have arguments as to whether the statement made by some of our advocates, "Suffrage is part of my religion" or remarks along a similar vein were quite reverent. When I averred some feeling like this to Margaret Foley, she scoffed at the thought. Mrs. Chace expresses so clearly what was in my mind that I give her own words. In October, 1889, at the annual meeting of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, she said:

"That our movement is in itself essentially religious, I feel impelled seriously, soberly and positively to affirm. In the spirit of the declaration of the Apostle James that 'pure religion and undefiled before God, the Father, is this: 'To visit the fatherless and the widows in their affliction and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world'—I do claim that this movement for the uplifting of humanity the wide-world over is a manifestation of pure and undefiled religion."

In studying the life of Elizabeth Buffum Chace, I find that her religion, like that of my mother, was a workable one that rendered her fearless and ready to meet life in its entirety. She was not afraid to shuffle off old beliefs when they became cumbersome nor take on new when they seemed necessary for her soul satisfaction. This practical Martha of the suffrage cause wrote at one time:

"Less sentiment and more principle, less noble words and more noble deeds are what I look for to make the world better."

And again she writes to her old teacher, George D. Prentice, in 1857, this clear analysis of her ethical code of living:

"George, my old friend and teacher, I wished to talk with thee alone of the great age and nation. Inheriting from my parents a love for the right, and from my father, especially, a disregard of popular opinion when that opinion is in favor of wrong, my mind has always been open to the unprejudiced consideration of any moral question which circumstances have brought before it. Thus I was prepared, as soon as I became aware that our whole nation was guilty of holding human beings as property, to wash my hands, as far as possible, of the guilt; to

take the side of the oppressed, and to advocate in every way in my power their immediate and unconditional restoration to the natural and inalienable rights of man.

"For a long time I could not but suppose that other people, when so informed, would, like me, see only the path of ceasing to do wrong. In this I was disappointed. Most people had so many things to take into consideration, so many prejudices and fears to listen to before they could decide that it was safe to do right, that, after years of effort, I have been forced to believe that the people of this nation, having been for a long time endeavoring to reconcile right and wrong, have, by an inevitable law in morals, lost the power to discriminate between the two."

Mrs. Chace has been accused of lacking religion. She lived her religion every day of her long and active life. Every evil in the community was a burden on her heart. She impressed into service those about her by her extreme earnestness. She writes to her son, Arnold.

"Oh! Arnold, do come home to do all in thy power to save people from drunkenness."

And we find her two sons,—under twenty-three years of age, mind you,—forming temperance societies and giving lectures on total abstinence.

Rhode Island has never been an easy soil to till for the most ardent of reformers. As early as 1855, we find this note of protest from William Lloyd Garrison, when invited to speak:

"Indeed, Providence is a city hard to be affected. I never go to it with an elastic spirit as I do to many other places. There seems to be a general determination not to hear."

Wendell Phillips hesitated very frequently about trusting his matchless eloquence to our frigid reception and Mary Livermore says frankly in a letter written from Melrose in 1886:

"Mr. Livermore and I work for Woman Suffrage in our own way, spending hundreds yearly, doing what we see to be done.

"It has never seemed necessary for me to attend a Woman Suffrage meeting in Providence, for I never have an audience there, when I speak for that reform. If I speak on any other topic, I have immense audiences. The size of the house alone limits the attendance. But I have never had a hundred people in my audience, when I talked on Woman Suffrage in Providence. As my time of work has dwindled to a span, and the calls upon me are incessant, it seems wiser for me to go where I can command the largest hearing, and allow those who can command the popular ear, as I cannot, (to) speak in Providence. Our force is not so large yet as to make us regardless of its economical use."

Like the ever ready book agent, in season and out of season, Mrs. Chace plied her trade of reform in spite of rebuffs and setbacks. The most difficult situation of all must have been the break between the New England workers and those of New York State over the adoption of the 15th Amendment. New England from the beginning had been the hot bed of the Anti-Slavery movement. It was quite natural that Elizabeth Buffum Chace, whose father, Arnold Buffum, as early as the thirties, was the first President of the Anti-Slavery Society and also the first agent whom it sent out to spread its propaganda should feel keenly the importance of giving citizenship as a protection to the newly acquired freedom of the negro. New England had never found New York a sympathetic co-worker in the abolition of slavery. This deep-seated antagonism or better, lack of mutual understanding between the two territories, is shown in Arnold Buffum's letter to Mrs. Chace in 1851.

"Since I last wrote thee, I have visited the great metropolis of this 'refuge for the oppressed of every clime' but our own.

The only topic of interest there was, 'How shall we keep the iron grasp on the enslaved, and how shall we get rid of the free?'

"I heard it asserted there, that the colored people are a distinct race of beings, not the descendants of Adam, but a lower, more degraded, corrupt and vicious order of animals than we, who, they maintain, all sinned and became totally depraved in the fall of our first parent.

"On my way home, I spent a first-day in Philadelphia,—attended a most lifeless Quaker meeting in the morning, and a most life stirring Methodist meeting of colored people in the afternoon. The contrast was truly a remarkable one."

That this subtle difference in opinion in regard to the colored people was very real and still continues, I realized from my own experience at suffrage conventions when almost invariably New York delegates were to be found on the side of Southerners, when a question involving the two races was on the carpet. It is easy to see in looking backward how this feud over "women first" or the 15th amendment should culminate in the formation of the American Woman Suffrage Association for which the call was sent out by Lucy Stone, Caroline M. Severance, Julia Ward Howe, T. W. Higginson and George H. Vibbert, to meet in Cleveland, Ohio, in August, 1869. From the vantage point of sixty-five years, after these momentous decisions it is hard to say which side was right. I find that my sympathy goes to the Stantonites; my cool

calm judgment and sense of justice aligns me with the Garrisonians.

The wisdom of discussing marriage and divorce, two causes of flagrant inequalities and gross treatment of women, was also a cause of disagreement. Mrs. Chace and Lucy Stone believing them to be issues apart from the main one, the enfranchisement of women. Both my sympathy and better judgment are in accord with the New England point of view here, especially as I see modern organizations of women trying to grasp and conquer all and as a result doing few things really well. Many women are spreading themselves out too thin in this day of specialization.

Mrs. Chace who had a quiet vein of humor lurking beneath her Quaker garb once reported about Susan Sisson, who was extremely homely:

"Susan says that she feels as handsome as anybody."

In the same way Mrs. Chace felt about Rhode Island. To her it was the greatest state in the Union and for it she exhausted her great fund of love and patriotism—in the mills, in the jails, in the schools, in the great reforms of her time. In the words of her daughter:

"She honestly and steadily endeavoured after righteousness, did the work which seemed to her most needed, and thus fulfilling the noblest duty of the citizen she advanced the civilization of her country."

The success of any great humanitarian depends upon the home environment. That of Mrs. Chace was well-nigh ideal. The last visit of her husband, Samuel B. Chace to Providence, was to lend his endorsement to Mrs. Chace in the formation of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association on December 11th, 1868. Though the major portion of his attention was necessarily centered upon his business his moral and spiritual support was never lacking. Likewise with all the members of her family. They held up her hands with the utmost fealty. Especially was this true of her son, Arnold B. Chace, and Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, both of whom must have the distinct moral satisfaction of knowing that they helped make possible so noble a life as their mother's.

Perhaps the strong friendship which existed between Mrs. Chace and Paulina Wright Davis was due to their dissimilarity. Once upon a time after one of our stormy suffrage sessions in recent years I asked a dear co-worker, Enid M. Pierce, if the

pioneer workers emphasized their differences with the same intensity as our own group seemed inclined to do at times. "I guess they were as bad, if not worse," she replied "and I doubt if



ELIZABETH BUFFUM CHACE AND BESSIE

they would have been willing to do all the hateful things we have to do, at that." She referred to the street propaganda, the selling of papers, candy, etc., which we deemed so essential to make money and advertise our cause. Mrs. Chace and Mrs. Davis

must have quarrelled and made up, only for some other diversity of temperament to crop out unexpectedly.

Paulina Wright Davis, handsome, sparkling, initiating some new move for the faithful Elizabeth to carry on, what business men call in modern parlance, a "real self-starter," New Yorker by instinct, New England by adoption, this "Play Boy of the Western World" came into conservative Little Rhody when her particular talents were needed most. Paulina Kellogg was born in Bloomfield, New York, August 7th, 1813. She was brought up by a strict Presbyterian aunt. In later life she found her own religion in her own way:

"I was not a happy child, nor a happy woman, until in mature life, I outgrew my early religious faith, and felt free to think and act from my own convictions."

Religion played an important rôle in the mind of this pioneer suffragist. Elizabeth Cady Stanton relates of her dear friend, Mrs. Davis:

"She was roused to thought on woman's position by a discussion in the church as to whether women should be permitted to speak and pray in promiscuous assemblies. Some of the deacons protested against a practice, in ordinary times, that might be tolerated during seasons of revival. But those who had discovered their gifts in times of excitement were not so easily remanded to silence; and thus the church was distracted then as now with the troublesome question of woman's rights."

Instead of going as a missionary to the Sandwich Islands, as she had planned, this young religious zealot married Mr. Francis Wright of Utica and became involved in the Anti-Slavery cause. Owing to the backward attitude of the church toward slavery, both Mrs. Wright and her husband withdrew and like Mrs. Chace devoted their time to anti-slavery, temperance and woman's rights. After the death of Mr. Wright, Mrs. Wright gave her time to studying and lecturing on anatomy and physiology, inspiring women to enter the professions. In 1849, she was married to Hon. Thomas Davis of Providence, and from then on for more than twenty years her life was spent for Rhode Island. Her self-starting quality was shown in her inaugurating the first distinctively woman's rights journal ever published called *The Una* and in calling the first National Woman Suffrage Convention in Worcester in 1850. Others sharing this honor with her from Rhode Island were Sarah H. Whitman, Thomas Davis,

Joseph A. Barker, Sarah Brown, Elizabeth B. Chace, Mary Clarke, John L. Clarke, George Clarke, Mary Adams and George Adams. Rhode Islanders actually present at this memorable convention were: Betsy F. Lawton, Paulina W. Davis, Cynthia P. Bliss, Rebecca C. Capron, Martha Mowry, Mary Eddy, Daniel Mitchell, G. Davis, Susan Sisson, Dr. S. Mowry, Elizabeth B. Chace, Rebecca B. Spring, Susan R. Harris, and A. Barnes. As I pen these names, I pause to wonder how many of my readers will find their ancestors upon this honored list.

Did Mrs. Davis visualize at that distant epoch the efforts of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and Alice Paul in establishing through the *Woman's Party* an International Parliament at Washington. Again in the words of Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

"One of Mrs. Davis' favorite ideas was a Woman's Congress in Washington, to meet every year, to consider the national questions demanding popular action; especially to present them in their moral and humanitarian bearings and relations, while our representatives discussed them, as men usually do, from the material, financial, and statistical points of view. 'In this way, only' said she, 'can the complete idea on any question ever be realized. All legislation must necessarily be fragmentary, so long as one-half the race give no thought whatever on the subject.'"

As one might expect, a woman of Mrs. Davis' generous loving nature would long for babies of her very own, and not able to satisfy this longing would try the next best way. Mrs. Davis adopted two little girls about one of whom, Mrs. Theodore Foster, Ellen Tarr Calder once said to me:

"If she had been Mrs. Davis' own daughter she could not have been more like her or a more satisfactory daughter."

It is to this same Mrs. Foster that we younger women from other states owe the intellectual and artistic opportunities afforded by her memorable Monday afternoons. One of my sweetest memories is that of her cultured, musical voice, her never-failing thoughtfulness for others, her graceful and gracious hospitality. Great gifts, indeed, in a world abounding in social crudities!

Some sow the seed—others gather it in the harvest. Paulina Wright Davis was one of the sowers. Elizur Wright's letter to her upon her initiation of the first National Convention in Worcester, places this virtue of her's, (for it is a virtue, however trying at times), in its proper category:

"Your business is to launch new ideas—not one of them will ever be wrecked or lost. Under the dominion of these ideas, right practice must gradually take the place of wrong, and the first we shall know we shall find the social swallowing up the political and the whole governing its parts."

Though the major portion of work devolved upon Mrs. Davis, a well picked and chosen crew responded to the call of their imperious captain. It is worth while to reiterate the names of the Central Committee at least: Paulina W. Davis, Chairman; Sarah H. Earle, Secretary; Wendell Phillips, Treasurer; Mary A. W. Johnson, William H. Channing, Gerrit Smith, John G. Forman, Martha H. Mowry, Lucy Stone, Abby K. Foster, Pliny Sexton, J. Elizabeth Jones, William Elder, William Stedman, Emily Robinson, Abby H. Price, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, Ernestine L. Rose, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Angelina Grimké Weld, Antoinette L. Brown, Harriot K. Hunt, Emma R. Coe, Clarina I. H. Nichols, Charles C. Burleigh, Adin Ballou, Sarah H. Hallock and Joseph A. Dugdale. No New England girl of the 20th Century should fail to read the stirring account of this first National Woman Suffrage Convention, held on the 23rd and 24th of October, in the city of Worcester, Massachusetts, in the year 1850, as it is given in the *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. I, P. 217. It is second only in importance to the Seneca Falls Convention, though this statement might be questioned by some ardent New Englander who would place it second to none. Mrs. Davis had looked to Margaret Fuller to take the leadership of the movement but in the words of Mrs. Davis.

"The 'hungry, ravening sea' had swallowed her up, and we were left to mourn her guiding hand—her royal presence."

I pass lingeringly over Mrs. Davis' beautiful description of her comrades in arms at this convention. She loved them all: Mrs. Sarah H. Earle, of Worcester, "one of the loveliest embodiments of womanhood I have ever known; Mrs. Sarah Tyndale, of Philadelphia, prescient, philosophical, just, and generous; Abby H. Price, large-hearted and large-brained, gentle and strong; Lucy Stone, a natural orator, with a silvery voice, a heart warm and glowing with youthful enthusiasm." I cannot fail to note the following resolution which indicates the prophetic vision of our able pioneers:

"Resolved, That women are clearly entitled to the right of suffrage, and to be considered eligible to office; the omission to demand which, on her part, is a palpable recreancy to duty, and a denial of which is a gross usurpation on the part of man, no longer to be en-



Paulina W Davis

dured; and that every party which claims to represent the humanity, civilization, and progress of the age, is bound to inscribe on its banners, "Equality before the Law, without distinction of Sex or Color."

As the wife of a state legislator and a national congressman, Mrs. Davis saw clearly the need for legal equality for men and women. If living today she might well be one of the foremost adherents of the proposed Lucretia Mott Amendment "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." In connection with this subject of legal equality which has always been very dear to my heart, I cannot forbear quoting a portion of a letter received by Mrs. Davis from John Stuart Mill, a close friend of the late Prof. Lester Frank Ward of Brown University from whom I heard much of the eminent sociologist when I was studying for my Master's degree:

"Your intended proposal, that women be impaneled on every jury where women are to be tried, seems to me very good, and calculated to place the injustice to which women are at present subjected, by the entire legal system, in a very striking light."

Did Mrs. Davis realize that some woman is on trial in every case which comes before the bar of justice, whether great or small? She had probably learned very early in life, as have her successors, the truth of Tennyson's words:

"The woman's cause is man's; they sink or rise
Together, dwarfed or god-like, bond or free,
If she be small, slight-natured, miserable,
How shall man grow?
The woman is not undeveloped man but diverse.

Yet in the long years, liker must they grow,
The man be more of woman, she of man ;
He gain in sweetness and in moral height—
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind.

And so these twain, upon the skirts of Time
Sit side by side, full-stemmed in all their powers
Self-reverent each, and reverencing each ;
Distinct in individualities,
But like each other as are those who love.

Then comes the statelier Eden back to man
Then reign the world's great bridals, chaste and calm ;
Then springs the crowning race of humankind."

Every advocate of woman's rights was beginning to glimpse the truth at this time that in the process of evolution neither

gynecocentric nor androcentric control alone would hold in this world of ours but woman and man would assume rôles of equal importance and opportunities in an equal partnership of effort. Prof. Ward used to dwell with great delight in the classroom upon his acquaintance with Susan B. Anthony and the early suffragists who loved this particular aspect of his sociological system.

Without doubt Paulina Wright Davis was called a man-hater. We all are when we try to put into words "what every woman knows." Though women have but little frank utterance in the newspapers in this advanced day as their policies are all practically controlled by men, their owners, we have passed beyond such criticism, as Mrs. Davis ascribes was accorded to this Convention:

"From North to South, the press found these reformers wonderfully ridiculous people. The 'hen convention' was served up in every variety of style, till refined women dreaded to look into a newspaper. Hitherto man had assumed to be the conscience of woman, now she indicated the will to think for herself; hence all the odium."

Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass by their presence and discussion at this Convention, placed forever for the colored people the seal to their freedom and the right to vote.

Paulina Wright Davis passed away the year I was born, 1876, August 24th. Elizabeth Buffum Chace left her beloved State, Rhode Island, the year I entered it, 1899. To me for many years they have typified the highest types of American womanhood. Though many times their points of view must have differed they made a wonderful team in advancing woman's enfranchisement in Rhode Island. They had faith in themselves, faith in each other, faith in their sex and above all faith in humankind.

CHAPTER VII

RHODE ISLAND PIONEERS

Chapter LXII, Mrs. Spencer's chapter on Rhode Island in Volume IV of "The History of Woman Suffrage," compiled by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, is a long one but I have looked in vain for a word to omit. It is so good that it should be in every school as well as public library and might well be included in every standard history of Rhode Island. Hence, it gives me pleasure to take advantage of the generous permission of both Mrs. Harper and Mrs. Spencer to print it in full.



*Yours sincerely
Anna Sarah Spencer*

RHODE ISLAND*

Rhode Island was one of the pioneer States to form a woman suffrage association. On Dec. 11, 1868, in answer to a call signed by a large number of its most distinguished men and women, a successful meeting was held in Roger Williams Hall, Providence, and Mrs. Paulina Wright Davis was elected president of the new organization.† Many series of conventions in different parts of the State were held between 1870 and 1884, at which the officers and special speakers presented petitions for signatures and prepared for legislative appeals.

In 1884, by unanimous vote of the Assembly, the State House was granted for the first time for a woman suffrage convention. Four sessions were held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, and Frederick Douglass, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Henry B. Blackwell, William Lloyd Garrison, Mary F. Eastman and others addressed great throngs of people who filled the seats, occupied all the standing room and overflowed into the lobbies.

Up to the present date this association has held an annual convention in October, a special May Festival with social features in the spring, and from one to four meetings each intervening month. These have been rendered attractive by papers and addresses from the members and by public speakers of ability from different parts of the United States and from other lands. In addition to this active propaganda special organizers have been secured from time to time to canvass the State and win intelligent support for the cause.

The association has had but three presidents—Paulina Wright Davis for the first two years, Elizabeth Buffum Chace from 1870 until her death in 1899, aged ninety-two, and Ardelia C. Dewing, now serving. When Mrs. Chace was unable longer to be actively the leader, Anna Garlin Spencer, who returned in 1889 to reside in Rhode Island, as first vice-president acted for her about seven years and Mrs. Dewing for the remainder of the time. Mrs. Davis was an exquisite personality with soul ever facing the light; Mrs. Chace, a woman of granite strength and stability of character, with a keen mind always bent upon the reason and the right of things, and with a single-hearted devotion to the great principles of life.°

The vice-presidents of the association number "honorable names not a few."¶ Among them was the Rev. Frederick A. Hinckley, who during the eleven years of his ministry in Providence, 1878-1889, acted as the first vice-president and did the greatest possible service to the association in all ways, ever cham-

*The History is indebted for this chapter to the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer of Providence, vice-president-at-large of the State Woman Suffrage Association.

† See History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III, p. 340.

pioning the principle of equality of rights. The secretaries of the association always have been among the leaders in the movement. At first Rhoda Anna Fairbanks (Peckham) was the single officer in that capacity. In 1872 Anna C. Garlin (Spencer) was added as corresponding secretary but resigned in 1878 when her marriage required her removal from the State.† Mrs. Ellen M. Bolles served from 1891 to 1900 when Mrs. Annie M. Griffin was elected. There have been but three treasurers—Marcus T. Janes, Mrs. Susan B. P. Martin and Mrs. Mary K. Wood.** The chairman of the Executive Committee has always shared the heaviest burdens. Mrs. Chace was the first chairman. Mrs. S. E. H. Doyle succeeded her and continued in the office until her death in 1890. Mrs. Anna E. Aldrich then served to the end of her life in 1898. The association has done a great deal of active work through its organizers, the brilliant and versatile Elizabeth Kittridge Churchill, Mrs. Margaret M. Campbell, Mrs. Louise M. Tyler, and others. Mrs. Ellen M. Bolles, from 1890 to 1898, acted as organizer as well as secretary.

The State Society affiliated with the New England Woman Suffrage Association from the first; with the American in 1870 and with the National-American in 1891. It was incorporated in 1892 and has been the recipient of legacies from James Eddy, Mrs. Rachel Fry, Mrs. Sarah Wilbour, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chace and others. It raised and expended for the woman suffrage campaign of 1887 more than \$5,000 and has had some paid worker in the field during most of the years.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION: From the first year of its existence, 1869, the State Association petitioned the Legislature for an amendment to the constitution abolishing sex as a condition of suffrage, and hearings were held before many committees.

° The annual meeting in October, 1895, celebrated the completion of a quarter of a century's service on the part of Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace as president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association. Letters from absent friends were read expressing their high appreciation of her life-long service in the cause of humankind as well as womankind. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison and Miss Mary F. Eastman attended to speak for the cause, and to testify their love for Mrs. Chace. The Hon. E. L. Freeman, ex-Gov. John W. Davis and others of the State also spoke words of great respect. The association honored itself by once more electing Mrs. Chace its chief officer, although she had expressed a strong desire to retire from the position as she felt that the burden of the work should be borne by younger shoulders. [Annual Report to National Suffrage Convention.]

¶ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Julia Ward Howe, Rowland Hazard, Phebe Jackson, Susan Sisson, Sarah Helen Whitman, Elizabeth K. Churchill, Abraham Payne, Sarah T. Wilbour, Charlotte A. Jenckes, George L. Clarke, Francis C. Frost, Susan R. Harris, Augustus Woodbury and many others of the best known and most useful citizens.

‡ Others were Mrs. M. M. Brewster, Mrs. Mary C. Peckham, Mrs. Rowena P. B. Tingley, Miss Charlotte R. Hoswell, Mrs. Anna E. Aldrich and Mrs. Martha Knowles.

** Present board: President, Mrs. A. C. Dewing; first vice-president, Mrs. Thomas W. Chase; second vice-president, Mrs. Ellen M. Bolles; third vice-president, Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour; secretary, Mrs. Annie M. Griffin; treasurer, Mrs. Mary K. Wood; auditors, Mrs. O. I. Angell, Mrs. Elizabeth Ormsbee; honorary vice-presidents, the Hon. H. B. Metcalf, Dr. L. F. C. Garvin and Arnold B. Chace.

In 1885, through the influence of Representative Edward L. Freeman, a bill for such an amendment actually passed both Houses, but failed throughout some technicality.

In 1886 it passed both Houses again by the constitutional majority of two-thirds. It was necessary that it should pass two successive Legislatures, and the vote in 1887 was, Senate, 28 ayes, 8 noes; House, 57 ayes, 5 noes. The amendment having been published and read at the annual town and ward meetings was then submitted to the voters. It was as follows: "Women shall have the right to vote in the election of all civil officers and on all questions in all legal town, district or ward meetings, subject to the same qualifications, limitations and conditions as men."

The story of this campaign can be compressed into a few sentences, but it was a great struggle in which heroic qualities were displayed and was led by the woman whose life has meant so much for Rhode Island, Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, who had as her able lieutenant the Rev. Frederick A. Hinckley, and as her body-guard all the faithful leaders of the suffrage cause in the State and helpers from other States*. Headquarters were established immediately in the business center of Providence. These rooms were opened each morning before nine o'clock and kept open until ten at night throughout the contest. The campaign lasted twenty-nine days, during which ninety-two public meetings were held, some in parlors but most in halls, vestries and churches. Miss Cora Scott Pond came at once into the State to organize the larger public meetings and Miss Sarah J. Eddy and Mrs. C. P. Norton arranged for parlor meetings. The regular speakers were Henry B. Blackwell, William Lloyd Garrison, the Revs. C. B. Pitblado, Louis A. Banks, Frederick A. Hinckley, Ada C. Bowles; Mesdames Mary A. Livermore, J. Ellen Foster, Zerelda G. Wallace, Julia Ward Howe, Katherine Lente Stevenson, E. S. Burlingame, Adelaide A. Claflin; Miss Mary F. Eastman and Miss Huldah B. Loud.† Miss Susan B. Anthony was invited to make the closing speech of the campaign but declined as she considered the situation hopeless.

The cities and towns were as thoroughly canvassed by these speakers as the short time permitted. A special paper, *The Amendment*, was edited by Mrs. Lillie B. Chace Wyman, assisted by Miss Kate Austin and Col. J. C. Wyman; the first num-

* The officers were: President, Mrs. Chace; vice-presidents, Mr. Hinckley, Arnold B. Chace, Phebe Jackson, Mary O. Arnold and Julia Ward Howe; acting secretary, Mrs. Anna E. Aldrich; treasurer, Mrs. Mary K. Wood; executive committee, Mrs. S. E. H. Doyle, Miss Sarah J. Eddy, Mesdames Aldrich, Fanny Purdy Palmer, C. P. Norton, Louisa A. Bowen, Elizabeth C. Hinckley, Susan C. Kenyon, Mary E. Bliss, Frances S. Bailey and S. R. Alexander, from whom the campaign committee was selected.

† Occasional addresses were made by Gen. Thomas W. Chace, Col. J. C. Wyman, Judge R. C. Pitman, Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, the Revs. H. C. Westwood, Augustus Woodbury, H. I. Cushman, N. H. Harriman, Thomas R. Slicer, O. H. Still, J. H. Larry; Messrs. Olney Arnold, Augustine Jones, R. F. Trevellick, Ralph Beaumont, John O'Keefe and others.

ber, issued March 16, an edition of 20,000, and the second, March 28, an edition of 40,000. They contained extracts from able articles on suffrage by leading men and women, letters from Rhode Island citizens approving the proposed amendment, and answers to the usual objections.

The principal newspapers of Providence, the *Journal* and the *Telegram*, both led the opposition to the amendment, the former admitting in an editorial, published March 10, "the theoretic justice of the proposed amendment to the constitution conferring suffrage upon women," but hoping it would be rejected because "whatever may be said for it, the measure has the fatal defect of being premature and impolitic." The opposition of the *Telegram* was more aggressive and even of a scurrilous type. To offset this hostility if possible the suffrage association hired a column of space in the *Journal* and half a column in the *Telegram* and kept this daily filled with suffrage arguments; toward the end of the campaign securing space also in the *Daily Republican*. The papers of the State generally were opposed to the measure, but the *Woonsocket Daily Reporter*, *Newport Daily News*, *Hope Valley Sentinel-Advertiser*, *Pawtuxet Valley Gleaner*, *Providence People*, *Bristol Phenix*, *Central Falls Visitor* and a few others gave effective assistance. The association distributed about 39,000 packages of literature to the voters.

In the Providence *Journal* of April 4 the names of over ninety prominent voters were signed to this announcement: "We, the undersigned, being opposed to the adoption of the proposed Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Constitution, respectfully urge all citizens (!) to vote against it at the coming election."

The next day the *Journal* contained in the space paid for by the association the signatures of about the same number of equally prominent men appended to this statement: "We favor the passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment which has been submitted to the voters of Rhode Island for action at the coming election." The same issue contained a list of many of the most distinguished men and women in this and other countries, beginning with Phillips Brooks and Clara Barton, and headed, "Some Other People of Weight Who Have Indorsed Woman Suffrage. Match This if You Can."

The election was held April 6, 1887, and at the sixty-two polling places men and women were on hand to urge the electors to vote for the amendment. The result was 6,889 ayes, 21,957 noes—the largest defeat woman suffrage ever received.

Many of the ablest lawyers having decided that no extension of franchise, not even a school vote, could be secured in Rhode Island through the Legislature (except possibly Presidential Suffrage) and the amendment to the constitution having been defeated by so heavy a vote, it was deemed best not to ask for another submission of the question for a term of years. Therefore

other matters, involving legal equality of the sexes, formed for a while the chief subjects for legislative work.

In 1892 a special appeal was made to the General Assembly to confer upon women by statute the right to vote for presidential electors. Three hearings were had before the House committee but the bill was not reported.

In 1895 a hearing, managed by Mrs. Jeanette S. French, was granted by the Senate committee. A number of able women of the State made addresses and the committee reported unanimously in favor of submitting again an amendment for the full Suffrage. It was too late, however, for further action and was referred to the May session. At that time it passed the Senate but was lost in the House by a small majority.

In 1897 the Governor was empowered by the General Assembly to appoint a commission to revise the State constitution. This was deemed by many as opposed to the spirit of the basic law of the Commonwealth, in substituting a small appointive body for the Constitutional Convention of Electors previously considered necessary to revise the fundamental law of the State, but the commission was appointed. The Woman Suffrage Association early presented a claim for a hearing which was granted for May 11. The Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer conducted it and introduced the other speakers who were all citizens of the State and of influence in their communities.* After interviews were held with the commission, the association adopted resolutions which were afterwards incorporated in a letter and read by Mrs. Bolles to the Committee on Revision. It said in part:

"We are informed that you consider it inadvisable to incorporate a suffrage amendment in the revised constitution lest it endanger the acceptance of other proposed and necessary changes. This view may be correct, but surely it need not prevent you from advising a provision by which the Legislature would be empowered to extend suffrage to women at its discretion, and this we greatly desire. A conservative measure of this nature could not call out a large amount of antagonism from the voters, while it would be a great help to women in their efforts to obtain a voice in such matters of public concern as are of vital importance to these interests. The constitution of Rhode Island is far behind the spirit of the age in its treatment of women, as only one other State makes it equally difficult for them to obtain even the simplest form of political rights. In revising the fundamental law this fact ought not to be overlooked and the instrument should be so constructed as to bring it up to date in this respect."

* Dr. Helen C. Putnam represented the physicians, Mrs. Mary Frost Evans the editors, Miss Sarah E. Doyle the teachers, Mrs. Mary A. Babcock and Mrs. A. B. E. Jackson the W. C. T. U., Mrs. L. G. C. Knickerbocker and Mrs. S. M. Aldrich women in private life, while the W. S. A. contributed Mrs. J. S. French, Mrs. A. C. Dewing and Mrs. Ellen M. Bolles. Edwin C. Pierce and Rabbi David Blaustein, members of the association, also spoke in favor of suffrage for women.

These appeals were not responded to favorably by the Commission, although great courtesy and willingness to consider the subject were manifested, and a large minority vote was given in the Commission itself to empower the Legislature to grant suffrage at discretion by statute. The proposed revision was submitted to the electors and during the campaign preceding their vote the association passed the following resolution at its annual meeting of Oct. 20, 1898: "Resolved, That we consider the proposed constitution unworthy the intelligence and civilization of the age, for these reasons: First, It does not give suffrage to women citizens and makes the obtaining of an amendment for this purpose even more difficult than it is at present by requiring a larger legislative majority to submit any question to the voters. Second, It restricts the suffrage of men by a property qualification."

The revised constitution was voted down by a large majority.

LAWS: The Suffrage Association from its first existence closely watched legislation affecting women and children, and often appeared by representative speakers before committees engaged in framing changes in such laws; but in 1892 and '93 a special effort was made to secure full legal equality for men and women. Miss Mary A. Greene, a Rhode Island lawyer, educated for and admitted to the bar in Massachusetts, was engaged to prepare a full statement of the existing laws relating to women and children and to draw up a code for suggestion to the Legislature which should embody the exact justice for which the association stood. This step was taken at that time because the Legislature had just appointed a Committee of Codification to consider the statutes bearing on domestic relations, contract powers, etc. The suggestions of the association, as prepared by Miss Greene, were not acted upon in any formal way, still less with completeness, but the changes made in the interest of equal rights for women were marked and the association had a distinct share in them. The property laws for women are now satisfactory except that of inheritance which is as follows:

Dower and curtesy both obtain. If the husband die without a will, leaving children, the widow is entitled to the life use of one-third of the real estate, and to one-third of the personal property absolutely, the remainder going to them. If there are no children or descendants she takes one-half of the personal property and as much of the real estate for life as is not required to pay the husband's debts. The other half of the personal property goes to the husband's relatives and, after her death, all of the real estate. The widower is entitled to a life use of all the wife's real estate if there has been issue born alive. If she die without a will he may take the whole of her personal property without administration or accountability to the children or to her kindred. The widow and minor children are entitled to certain articles of

apparel, furniture and household supplies and to six months' support out of the estate. The widow has the prior right as administrator.

The wife may dispose of her personal and real property by will, but can not impair the husband's curtesy, or the life use of all her real estate. The husband may do the same subject to the wife's dower, or life use of one-third of the real estate.

If any person having neither wife nor children die without a will "the property shall go to the father of such person if there be a father, if not, then to the mother, brothers and sisters."

All the property of a married woman, whether acquired before or after marriage, is absolutely secured to her sole and separate use, free from liability for her husband's debts. Personal and real estate may be conveyed by her as if unmarried, the latter subject to the husband's curtesy. Her husband must present an order from her to collect the rents and profits.

A married woman may make contracts, sue and be sued, and carry on any trade or business, and her earnings are her sole and separate property. She can not, however, enter into business partnership with her husband.

Neither husband nor wife is liable for the torts of the other. The wife's property is liable for her debts or torts.

A married woman may act as executor, administrator or guardian if appointed to those offices by will, but she can not be appointed to them by the court except to the guardianship of children.*

In case of divorce for fault of the husband the wife may have dower as if he were dead. If alimony be claimed the dower is waived. If the divorce is for the fault of the wife, the husband, if entitled to curtesy, shall have a life estate in the lands of the wife, subject to such allowance to her, chargeable on the life estate, as the court may deem proper. In case of separation only, the petitioner may be assigned a separate maintenance out of the property of the husband or wife as the case may be.

The father is the legal guardian of the minor children. At his death the mother is entitled to the guardianship and custody. The mother may be appointed guardian by the court during the husband's lifetime. If he is insane or has deserted or neglected his children she is entitled to full custody.

If the wife is deserted by her husband unjustifiably and not supported by him, she may receive authority from the court for the custody and earnings of her minor children, and he may be imprisoned not less than six months nor more than three years. If he abandon her and is absent from the State one year or more or is condemned to prison for a year or more, the court can order the income from his property applied to the support of his family.

* The right to be appointed by the court was given to married women by Act of 1902.

A law of 1896 provided that a wife owning property might contract in writing for the support of her husband and children, but this was repealed in three months. She is not required to support them by her labor or property, as the husband is the legal head of the family.

The most of the above laws have been enacted since 1892.

Until 1889, 10 years was the age for the protection of girls, but then it was made 14 years, with a penalty of not less than ten years' imprisonment. In 1894 it was raised to 16 and the penalty made not more than fifteen years with no minimum number specified. The former penalty still holds, however, for actual rape.

SUFFRAGE: Women have no form of suffrage. The husband may vote as a taxpayer by right of his wife's real estate.

OFFICE HOLDING: Eligibility to office is limited by the constitution to lecturers. The article referring to school committee (trustees) merely says, however, that they shall be "residents of the town." In 1872 and '73 the suffrage association procured by direct effort an Act qualifying women to serve on school committees and many have done so with distinction. There are sixteen now serving in the State. The city charter of Pawtucket requires one of the three members to be a woman.

As far back as 1869 an appeal was made by the suffrage association that women should be placed on all boards of management of institutions in which women were confined as prisoners or cared for as unfortunates. In partial response an Act was passed in 1870 establishing an Advisory Board of Female Visitors to the charitable, penal and correctional institutions of the State. This board had no powers of control, but had full rights of inspection at all times and constituted an official channel for criticism and suggestions. It is still in existence and is composed of seven representative women.

The association was not satisfied with a board of such limited powers and in 1874 it memorialized the Legislature for an Act requiring that women, in the proportion of at least three out of seven, should be placed on the State Board of Charities and Correction, with equal powers in all particulars. This petition was presented for three years successively and special hearings granted to its advocates, but at last was definitely refused. In 1891, however, two institutions, the State Home and School for Dependent Children and the Rhode Island School for the Deaf, were placed in charge of boards of control, to be appointed by the Governor, to report to the Legislature and to exercise full powers of supervision and management, "at least three of whom shall be women."

In 1878 a meeting was held by the association to consider the need of good and wise women in all places where unfortunate women are in confinement, and the matter of placing police matrons in stations was discussed. Agitation followed and the

W. C. T. U., under the enthusiastic lead of Mrs. J. K. Barney, adopted the matter as a special work, the W. S. A. aiding in all possible ways. In March, 1881, the first police matron in the country (it is believed) was appointed in Providence and installed as a regular officer. From this beginning the movement spread until in 1893 an Act was passed by the General Assembly, without a dissenting voice, requiring police matrons in all cities, the nominations in each to be recommended by twenty women residents in good standing.

The first agitation for women probation officers was started in a meeting of the State Suffrage Association in 1892. The W. C. T. U. and the leaders in rescue mission work in Providence continued the movement, and in 1898 a woman was appointed in Providence to that office, with equal powers of the man probation officer, to be responsible for women who are released on parole.

In 1893 an Act was passed as the result of a determined movement lasting several years, in which the suffrage association shared, although the principal leaders were the labor reform organizations of the State and the Council of Women of Rhode Island (to which body the W. S. A. was auxiliary). It raised the legal age of the child-worker from ten to twelve years, provided for sanitary conditions and moral safeguards in shops and factories, and for the appointment of two factory and shop inspectors, "one of whom shall be a woman," to secure its enforcement. The man and woman inspector were made exactly equal in power, responsibility and salary, instead of the woman being, as in most States, a deputy or special inspector. Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer was chosen for this position.

Appointive offices which women have held recently, or are holding, are assistant clerk of the Supreme Court and Court of Common Pleas; stenographer for same; clerk to State Commissioner of Public Schools; clerk to State Auditor and Insurance Commissioner; as superintendent of State Reform School for Girls, and as jailer in Kent county.

No woman has ever applied to serve as notary public, but doubtless it would not be considered legal.

OCCUPATIONS: No occupation or profession is forbidden to women, but a test is soon to be made as to whether they will be admitted to the bar. Women are prohibited from contracting to work more than ten hours a day. They can bind themselves to be apprentices till the age of eighteen, men until twenty-one.

EDUCATION: Rhode Island contains only one university—Brown—founded in 1764. In 1883 Miss Helen McGill and Miss Annie S. Peck, college graduates, addressed a meeting at Providence on the higher education of women. Arnold B. Chace was requested at this time to report at the next regular meeting of the State Suffrage Association the prospects for the admission of women to Brown University, as he was treasurer of the uni-

versity corporation. At a later meeting the Rev. Ezekiel Gilman Robinson, then president of the university, by request addressed the association and declared his views, saying in substance that he was not in favor of their admission, especially in the undergraduate departments, as the discipline required by young men and women was quite different and all social questions would be complicated by the presence of the latter.

After much discussion at other meetings it was decided to form a committee, representing several organizations interested in the advancement of women, to work more definitely in this direction. On Feb. 20, 1886, a number of ladies assembled at the home of Mrs. Rachel Fry, a prominent member of the suffrage association, and, after discussion and advice from Mr. Chace, appointed a committee.* Three days later it met at the home of Mrs. R. A. Peckham, organized and elected Miss Sarah E. Doyle chairman and Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer secretary. It met again March 14, to hear reports on the conferences of the members with professors of the university, and the result showed a considerable number of them in favor of the project. To influence public opinion the committee published statistics showing that thirty young women of Rhode Island were attending colleges outside the State, and argued that most of these who now were "exiles" would gladly receive the higher education at home.

The movement was accelerated by the act of four young girls, Elizabeth Hoyt, Henrietta R. Palmer, Emma L. Meader and Helen Gregory, who took by permission the classical course in the Providence High School, at that time limited to boys; and in 1887 addressed a petition prepared by David Hoyt, the principal, to the president of the university, urging that when their preparation was complete they might be allowed to share the educational privileges of Brown. They received a discouraging response and all turned to other colleges.

Up to this time friends on the faculty and in the corporation of the university were working up a scheme for the unofficial entrance of women and their instruction in the class-rooms, and the committee had engaged itself with the practical details connected with this plan.

On February 4, 1889, this somewhat informal committee organized an association and adopted a constitution which declared its object, "to secure the educational privileges of Brown University for women on the same terms offered to men." Of the thirty-two original signers to this constitution eighteen were members of the State Suffrage Association and the number included the president, two vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer and

* Mrs. Francis W. Goddard, Miss Sarah E. Doyle, principal of the Girls' High School of Providence; Mrs. M. M. Brewster, president of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union; Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer and Mrs. R. A. Peckham, representing the State Suffrage Association; Mrs. Augustine Jones, representing the Friends' School, and Mrs. M. E. Tucker.

four members of the executive committee. The same officers were continued.

Prof. Benjamin Franklin Clarke was from the first an earnest supporter of the claims of the women, and worked within the faculty as Arnold B. Chace did in the corporation. When in 1889 Elisha Benjamin Andrews (who as professor had in 1887 indorsed the woman suffrage amendment) became the president of the university, the cause of the higher education of women took a great leap forward. In October, 1891, the Women's College connected with Brown University was established and a small building hired for its home. Six young women, among them the now distinguished president of Mount Holyoke College, Miss Mary Woolley, entered the classrooms. The results of the next ten years are thus summed up in the official year-book for 1901:

"The Women's College was founded in October, 1891. At first only the privileges of university examinations and certificates of proficiency were granted. In June, 1892, all the university degrees and the graduate courses were opened. In November, 1897, the institution was accepted by the corporation and officially designated the Women's College of Brown University. The immediate charge, subject to the direction of the president, was placed in the hands of a dean. All instruction was required to be given by members of the university faculty. Pembroke Hall, which was built by the Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women, was formally transferred to the university in October, 1897, and was accepted as the recitation hall of the Women's College."

The record of the admission of women to this ancient university is part of the history of the Woman Suffrage Association, because all the initial movements were taken by that body, the society which continued the work was separated from the association only for purposes of practical efficiency, and the first principle on which the movement proceeded was that of absolute equality in educational opportunity, which is the corollary of political democracy. With its actual opening to women, however, the other elements of leadership assumed control and have secured later results.

On Jan. 16, 1892, the original association having practically secured its object, the money in the treasury was turned over to the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, and from that body finally found its way to a scholarship fund for the Women's College, and the association disbanded. Later the need for raising funds to meet the requirement for buildings and endowments led to the reorganization of the work, and the present Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women was formed. Miss Doyle was elected the president of this new association, as she had been of the old. At the dedication of



Ida Husted Harper.

Pembroke Hall, which the efforts of this later society had secured, the early history (especially the connection of the Woman Suffrage Association with the work) was not dwelt upon, but the facts should have permanent record to furnish one more proof that woman suffrage societies have started great collateral movements, which, when they are fully successful, often forget or do not know the "mother that bore them."*

It was not until 1893 that the full classical course of the Providence High School, preparatory for the university, was officially thrown open to girls, although a few had previously attended. Now all departments, including the manual training, are open alike to both sexes, and there are no distinctions anywhere in the public schools. In these there are 207 men and 1,706 women teachers. The average monthly salary of the men is \$103.74; of the women, \$51. Only one other State (Mass.) shows so great a discrepancy.

The Association of Collegiate Alumnæ has an active branch in Rhode Island. Seventeen clubs representing 1,436 members belong to the State Federation. The Local Council of Women, which is auxiliary to the National Council, has a membership, by delegate representation, of thirty-two of the leading educational, church, philanthropic and reformatory societies of Providence and of the State. About one-half of these have men as well as women for members, but all are represented in the Council by women. This body has done many important things, having taken the most active part in securing Factory and Shop Inspection; initiated the formation of the Providence Society for Organizing Charity; started the movement for a Consumers' League and launched that association; and is now at work to secure a State institution for the care and training of the Feeble-Minded. The Council holds from six to ten private meetings in the year, at least two public meetings, and an annual public Peace Celebration in conjunction with the Peace Committee of the International Council of Women.

* The Suffrage Association has held one meeting in Pembroke Hall, however, which was presided over by its acting president and at which the daughter of Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, spoke upon "The Political Position of Women in England;" and the use of Sayles Hall of Brown University was freely granted for a series of meetings under the auspices of the W. S. A. devoted to a presentation of "Woman's Contribution to the Progress of the World." These were addressed by Abby Goold Woolson, Mary A. Livermore, Lillie Devereux Blake, Lillie Chace Wyman, Alice Stone Blackwell, Mary F. Eastman, Prof. Katherine Hanscom and the Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer.

In October, 1901, Miss Susan B. Anthony addressed the students and was enthusiastically received.

CHAPTER VIII

SUB-PIONEERS

It is to be regretted that Anna Garlin Spencer closed her record in 1900. The records after the death of Mrs. Chace in 1899 until 1907 are somewhat sparse. In 1902, Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer, who had been a devoted worker in the suffrage ranks with Mrs. Chace, left the state. Mrs. Ardelia Cooke Dewing, with her faithful daughter, Mrs. Gladding, came to the front in the state organization and Mrs. Dewing assumed the Presidency until 1905, when Mrs. Jeannette S. French served for two years. I have delightful memories of both of these women. Broad in their understanding, keen in their love for the cause of womanhood, they welcomed with cordiality the younger workers with the prophetic vision with which our beloved pioneers were especially gifted that to them would be the burden and joy of the last stage of the long journey toward the desired goal marked "Votes for Women." For it was in terms of the vote that women had now come to think rather than in the larger generalization of equal rights. Mrs. Mary F. W. Homer, who became secretary in 1906, had a most interesting personality. To me she always seemed a woman of fine parts, practical and idealistic; shrewd and free-hearted. I shall always consider that she with her beautiful home on Blackstone Boulevard made a signal contribution to the cause when it was greatly needed.

Events of importance transpiring at this period number among them the following: in 1901, Miss Susan B. Anthony spoke at the May dinner; on June 2, 1902, the endorsement of the State Central Trades and Labor Unions was secured; Henry B. Blackwell gave a notable address at the annual meeting; in 1903, Mayor D. L. D. Granger endorsed woman suffrage; Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour and Rev. Anna Garlin Spencer were made honorary presidents of the association. It was to this period, shortly after the opening of the 20th century, that we owe the very fine portrait of Susan B. Anthony, painted by Miss Sarah J. Eddy of Bristol, at whose home Miss Anthony was a frequent guest, as she had been at her mother's home in Boston. I am indebted to Mrs. Alice Park of California, an ardent suffragist and one who has been for years associated with Miss Eddy, in



PAINTING OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY BY SARAH J. EDDY

her broad humanitarian work in behalf of dumb animals, for the following account of the painting of this picture:

"At the time of the celebration of Miss Susan B. Anthony's Eightieth Birthday Anniversary, in Washington, D. C., when she was presented with eighty roses by school children, Miss Sarah J. Eddy, who was there, wished there might be a painting to represent the occasion. Miss Anthony accepted an invitation to visit Miss Eddy at her home in Bristol Ferry, Rhode Island, and was willing to have her portrait painted. Miss Eddy first made a life size oil painting of the head and bust only. This was satisfactory, and then Miss Eddy had the courage to ask for sittings for a large painting representing the celebration of Miss Anthony's birthday anniversary. Some of the neighborhood children posed with Miss Anthony. This painting has been much admired. Miss Anthony's expression is especially benevolent and sweet. The painting is now in the old National Museum, at Washington, D. C. The smaller portrait paintings are now in Bryn Mawr College and in the Rochester University, New York."

In 1904 and thereafter a prize was given for the best essay on woman suffrage, written by a student of the Woman's College; in 1905, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Suffrage Association, gave two lectures; in 1907, Mrs. Rowena P. B. Tingley was elected president and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, in her 88th year, gave an address.

After the formation of the Rhode Island College Equal Suffrage League in 1907, a new impetus was given to the work. The young workers were eagerly welcomed by the older group and tried earnestly to live up to their responsibility. Miss Florence Garvin in a recent letter expresses clearly what was in the mind of most of us. I give it entire as what Miss Garvin writes is always well worth attention:

From Miss Florence Garvin, Arden Craft Shops,
Arden, Wilmington, R. F. D. 2, Delaware.

18 Sept. 1925.

TO MRS. SARA M. ALGEO,

The College Equal Suffrage League served the purpose of identifying the movement with young thought. The principles of equality and justice appeal to every child, as witness childish quarrels. The woman suffrage had been set aside at the Civil War in favor of the war problems, and the leaders of it were those who had been interested in those problems, i. e., the negro question, etc. The fact there were women negroes never seemed to occur to them. The resumé by Tennyson, "Woman is not lesser



Maud Hood Park.

man but diverse," reached the college woman because she knew her Tennyson. She cleared the question of the extraneous matter that had gathered around it. The old policy of society that the woman waits till everything else is finished came to an end. It reminds one of the line from the opera about "The Waiting Maid—waits for Queen and waits for Man—That's how the waiting's made."

The tendency of the College Equal Suffrage League was to turn and dignify the experimental nature of the higher education of woman into a permanent foundation. It identified politics with education over again. The public school in America had originally identified education with citizenship. The National Woman's Party has still in charge the legal status of woman which remains over from the old English law which identifies the woman with the house and marriage with cohabitation—that is, the woman's legal status is still that of a chattel of the house,—nearly the status

of a piece of furniture,—just as the medieval serf was attached to the land. That woman has escaped from the house into the automobile is due to her own personal intelligence and unaided



FLORENCE GARVIN

efforts, as the law retards and trips her up at every step. To push the National Woman's Party should at the present time be the effort of every feminist.

FLORENCE GARVIN.

Florence Garvin, dreamer and poet by nature, a born reformer like her good father, and her practical secretary got on famously in coercing the academic world to a recognition of the advancing march of womanhood. With some reluctance the Woman's College and Brown University admitted the splendid speakers

sent out by the National College League. Fola La Follette read "Votes for Women" in Manning Hall and proved a very charming guest in my home, where I entertained Mrs. La Follette later. Helen Grenfell, State School Superintendent, from Colorado, proved what can be done where women voted. Ray Costello (now Mrs. Oliver Strachey) and Miss Rendell came from England and initiated us into the methods being adopted by the militants, though they themselves belonged to Mrs. Fawcett's group. As I met them at the station, I saw Miss Costello's eyes critically sweeping over the environs. "Just getting the lay of the land for outdoor speaking," she said. I little thought that a few short years later that would be my own attitude.

The College Equal Suffrage League worked hand in hand with the State Association. It brought in new blood and new members. In 1909, two events of the highest significance happened to return Rhode Island to its place in the sun. Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont opened her beautiful home at Newport, Marble Palace, to Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Prof. Charles Zueblin. If I mistake not, she was the first woman among the extremely rich classes in America to give herself and her wealth wholeheartedly to the cause. While her wealth may not have equalled in spirit the generous donations of the Eddy's and Jackson's and other generous souls, it proved a strong lever in putting the whole movement on a firmer financial basis. The second event of even greater magnitude to Rhode Island was the appointment of Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates as President of the State Association. Almost a pioneer herself, Miss Yates had enjoyed the blessed privilege of serving as understudy to Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and other great leaders. She came into the Rhode Island work when her particular talents were most needed and faithfully she devoted her all to the great cause. Her personal beauty, her really remarkable gifts of oratory, her humor, her good sense, her persistence and devotion, all were laid upon the altar of women's enfranchisement. Glad indeed am I of this occasion to pay my tribute of homage and praise to this able and faithful co-worker in the cause of womankind. Her name deserves an honored place on State and National rolls, which time will but enhance.

I have found in suffrage annals no better example of humor than Miss Yates' speech at the New England Woman Suffrage Association delivered about 1912.



Elizabeth Hamfals -

WOMAN BLAMED FOR MORE THAN SHARE, MISS YATES CLAIMS

HEAD OF RHODE ISLAND SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATION TELLS MEM-
BERS OF NEW ENGLAND BODY SOCRATES WAS CLASSIC
EXAMPLE OF EVERYBODY WORKS BUT FATHER

Boston, May 26.—The New England Woman Suffrage Association held its annual May festival last evening in the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club. Miss Alice Stone Blackwell presided. She spoke of the loss to the association by death within the last year of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, who had for 40 years been President; of Col. Higginson and of Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward.

Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, President of the Rhode Island suffrage organization, complained that women always had been blamed for more than her share of the world's misdemeanors. "Even Mother Eve had the virtue of generosity," she said, "and the serpent knew better than to give that apple to Adam, for Adam would never have shared it. Reflect also upon poor Xantippe. She had for husband Socrates, a man who declared that one of the characteristics of the superior man is giving no heed to his family. I've no doubt Socrates would come home after delivering those beautiful discourses clamoring for a supper of ambrosia to be supplied from an empty cupboard. And long after he was snoring in bed poor Xantippe had to sit up mending his old toga that he'd dragged round all day through the streets of Athens. Socrates was a great philosopher, but he was also a classic example of "everybody works but father."

"Columbus discovered America. Queen Isabella gave him the money for his expedition. Queen Elizabeth helped the new English colony. The first State in the Union was called Virginia in honor of the Queen's spinsterhood—a distinction particularly gratifying to some of us. The first child born in America was a girl, and her name was Virginia Dare—first of a long line of daring daughters. We can forgive the God-fearing and benighted men of the Mayflower for drawing up a compact while the women looked on. But when we hear this compact called the first set of free and equal laws, we women must protest. Hannah Dustin killed five Indians. And the Massachusetts Legislature gave a pension to her husband. I hear, however, that the monument erected to Hannah is really erected over her bones and not over those of her spouse.

"When education for women was discussed, an outcry arose. Men said if women learned the alphabet they'd begin to read books, and if they began to read books, they'd neglect the home,

and while they were reading the baby would swallow a collar button and choke.

"For a century we've had at the portal of our land of freedom a statue of Liberty enlightening the world—with its back to American womanhood. Let Uncle Sam give liberty to American women and they will accomplish more than all the goddesses that ever sat on pedestals."

Miss Mary N. Chase, President of the New Hampshire association, said that in Europe candidates always "stood" for office, and that America was the only place where they "ran" for it. She suggested that it might be a good thing for some of our own



SUSAN WALKER FITZGERALD

Who came from Boston to help us

candidates to let the people do a little more of the running. Other speakers were Mrs. Fannie J. Fernald of Maine, Mrs. Maud Wood Park of the Boston Equal Suffrage Association, Mrs. Richard Y. FitzGerald of the School Voters' League and Prof. A. R. Hatton of Harvard.

Letters were read from Mrs. Lionel Marks (Josephine Preston Peabody) and Prof. George Herbert Palmer of Harvard.

In looking over our records we find that Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst came to us in 1911 and this same year the anti-suffrage society was formed. I do not know if this organization helped or hindered. Some of its leaders were Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt, Mrs. Rowland Hazard, Miss Louise Hoppin, Mrs. Herbert Maine and Mrs. Henry T. Fowler. I do not know what they had in mind. It never seemed to me a profitable use of time to spend it upon anti-arguments. If we needed them we got a supply ready for use from Boston. There, they flourished upon the attention they received. In Rhode Island we were too busy settling differences in our own ranks to look for trouble outside.

Politically we had one object which we pursued in season and out of season—the passage of an act to enable women to vote for President and Vice-President of the United States. We sought this goal with a tenacity of purpose which never faltered. It was entirely fitting that Rhode Island should have been the first on the Atlantic seaboard to win this particular form of suffrage after its long years of striving. We became a sort of experiment station for this brand of suffrage and were in honor bound to carry it to a proper finale. My first distinct recollection after becoming an active worker is trudging to the State House with Henry B. Blackwell and his daughter, Alice Stone Blackwell. It was Mr. Blackwell who first discovered the possibilities for granting presidential suffrage in the Constitution. Good friends and clever politicians such as Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, Col. Patrick Quinn, Judge Frank Fitzsimmons, and Judge Thomas Z. Lee in those early days did their best to further our cause. Hon. George F. O'Shaunessy, who went to Congress from the Rhode Island Legislature was at all times a good rallying point for disheartened suffragists. In a statement written some time ago Mr. O'Shaunessy says:

"I am comforted in the knowledge that I never knew a day since reason came, when I did not favor woman suffrage. I have always regarded men and women as human beings, the children of a common Father. I never could understand why participation in the Government should be denied one human being and granted to another. The advocacy of this great cause came easily to me as it was but the expression of equality and justice."

All of our men at Washington voted for the 19th Amendment when the final test came, but all needed some coaxing save George F. O'Shaunessy. Richard B. Comstock, a powerful factor in the

Democratic Party, was always favorably inclined to woman suffrage, but did not come out definitely in favor until 1914, when his written endorsement proved of great value. Thomas W. Bicknell was a great help to the suffragists. From the time when he was chairman of the suffrage committee in the Massachusetts Legislature, until it became a reality, Mr. Bicknell lent his resourcefulness and the organizations of which he was the head to women's enfranchisement. Many and varied were the opportunities he found for suffrage speakers. Never was he found wanting when asked to speak. All honor to this grand old man of Rhode Island to whom freedom, equality, justice and brotherhood were the bread of life, not idle phrases. Just one week ago, Oct. 6th, 1925, he was called home. There is no one to take his place.

Dr. Edward M. Harris, Nathan W. Littlefield, Charles Sisson, Arnold B. Chace and many other good men and true were as chivalrous as the Garrisons' and Phillips' of olden time, but the brunt of the work fell upon the women. As Mr. Arnold B. Chace said one day to Mr. Algeo as we were walking along Angell Street together—we were next-door neighbors—"I believe in woman suffrage but I can't get excited over it as my mother did. Probably you don't think it so important as your wife seems to find it." My husband nodded agreement. They understood each other but found feminine vagaries too much for their simple masculine comprehension; yet men have paid a great price for their own freedom.

"Don't be afraid of saying 'I.' Our women need not be ashamed of saying or writing,

" 'I did,'—for each one knows but very little beyond what she herself did."

These were the words of Susan B. Anthony to Mrs. Chace. Again she asks her to make her letters, "sort of *gossipy-like*, giving the spirit and purpose of the work,—and little recollections of persons and incidents."

Elizabeth Cady Stanton adds her sterling advice upon writing suffrage history. This also appears in a letter to Mrs. Chace:

"Would you or your daughters write up Rhode Island, keeping all personal antagonisms in abeyance to the grand results achieved. We do not desire to give the world unimportant bickerings, and thus mar our grand movement in the eyes of future generations, but to make a fair history of all that has been well done, and throw the veil of charity over the remainder."

If this story fails completely in its desired object it will not be through lack of adequate advice from our two great leaders.

The period from 1907 to 1911 was a peculiarly interesting and happy one for me. I saw much of the Garvins' at this time and found them a source of inspiration in initiative and daring. Though they could never convert me into an ardent Single Taxer



MR. J. W. ALGEO ENJOYED TUSCATUCKET COTTAGE

it was rather to my shame as the logic of this doctrine appears insurmountable. I followed the work of the Consumers' League with some care and was still eager over the development of the Rhode Island Association of Working Women's Clubs—and the vacation house, Tuscatucket Cottage, then in process of building at Oakland Beach. In Rhode Island as in other states a philanthropic and cultured group of women was working out this experiment in club fellowship under the three principles of non-sectarianism, self-support and self-government. The fine co-operative spirit of those days is bearing fruit in the splendid City Girls' Club and

other effective clubs of organized women workers throughout the state. Emily Kingsbury, Hope Smith, Jessie Budlong, Jessie Hunt, Louise Congdon Francis, Nellie Fairchild Wallace, Alice Howland, the Comstock girls, Alice Kimball, Esther Stone, all gave up priceless time and energy toward building up this valuable work. I never meet the Fulton sisters, Mary Kehoe, Miss Halliday, Elizabeth Preble, Mary Haggerty, Christine McDonald, and dozens of others without thinking of the "good old days" at Tuscatucket. Both Mr. Algeo and I enjoyed Tuscatucket Cottage, where we made frequent visits. As my toast I responded with the following rhymes at the 25th Anniversary of the League:

TUSCATUCKET COTTAGE

Written for the Rhode Island League of Working Women's Clubs at the 20th Anniversary, March 4th, 1924.

Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight ;
 Make us all girls again, just for to-night ;
 We've now come to an age, when to reminisce
 Opens broad vistas of infinite bliss.
 First, to be sure, to pop into our pome
 Is dear Tuscatucket, beloved old home,
 Brush Neck Cove, and fair Oakland Beach,
 Perfect for parties and easy to reach.

How cool the house looks with its smiling verandah
 As by cross cut from station to it we meander :
 The bay twinkles its welcome, "Come quick, swim and float
 Get into old duds, jump into your boat."
 Ah, what good times we had in our own little tub,
 Or in the big sail boats, when packed full of grub,
 We scoured the bay for fish that ne'er came
 To fat juicy hooks we had baited for same.

Does the sun still go down over Brush Neck Cove
 In the gorgeous glory, we used to love?
 Ah, Girls, our hermit, pursues he still his wonted way
 With us not there to watch and wonder day by day?
 Do the berries wild and azalea sweet
 Miss the tread of our many feet?
 Does the sandy road wind into the sunset glow
 With no tender thoughts of friends of long ago?

No Wayside Inn with Ford himself could cook
 Three better meals than we each day partook ;
 In cleanliness our rooms surpassed one's fondest hope,
 Miss Budlong made us even wash the soap.
 No tiniest germs allowed to settle there
 Without her warning voice and tyrannous, Beware!
 Though good the dinners which we sped to eat,
 Far better still the friends we used to meet.

At Tuscatucket's bounteous board we caught
 The glancing gleam of miracles in love and friendship wrought ;
 And North End vied with Sprague House to prove, what we all
 knew,
 Themselves to be the keenest, wittiest of all our happy crew.
 Sarah and Anna, how they sang; Elizabeth how she smiled ;
 Mary Kehoe, how she worked, she was an angel child ;
 While Emily Kingsbury with mien benign looked on
 And blessed her darling children, every one.

The Sprague House girls, more quiet and demure,
 Added their quota, of that you may be sure,
 To the joy and charm of those festive days ;
 They won from Miss Fairchild their meed of praise ;
 They loved to sew, they loved to make a cake,
 While the gay North Enders loved to shake
 A merry foot and trip the light fantastic toe
 To the rag-time tunes of long ago.

We had our hopes and longings in those days gone by,
 But one Hope never failed us, nor ever made us sigh ;
 Grown-ups and youngsters, we all have hoped to be
 Like sweet Hope Smith who, I'm sure we'll all agree,
 Is the beau ideal for any girl to know,
 A little bit of quite all right, just can't help being so.
 I dare not speak of Jessie B., she kept us far too clean ;
 She'd purge us from our wickedness with smiling air serene ;
 Then lead us forth, devoted lambs, to worship at her shrine,
 This gentle soul of adamant, this Nemesis divine.

Forward, turn forward, O Time in your flight,
 Turn again to the good things before us to-night ;
 The Here and the Now are too fine a time,
 To spend them in digging in memory's mine.
 With a motto like ours, "To Have and to Share,"
 What can we not do, what may we not dare?
 Let's drink to it now with a friendly smile,
 "To Have and to Share," a motto worth while.

Sowamset,
 Barrington, R. I.,
 March 3, 1924.

SARA M. ALGEO.



DEBORAH KNOX LIVINGSTON



MRS. JENNIE L. ROOKE

Another organization calling upon my attention at this awakening period was the W. C. T. U. I had yet to learn of the close relationship which always existed between the two national organizations representing suffrage and temperance. From the time of Susan B. Anthony and her disciples Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt, they have been spiritually interlocked. Frances Willard, the greatest organizer known to any movement, was heart and soul for suffrage. In talking with the Countess of Carlisle, who was then president of the International W. C. T. U.; in my last visit to London in 1920, she professed herself almost as interested in suffrage as in prohibition. We might make an inventory of all the leading workers in both causes and hardly find an exception to this belief in both reforms. Every state president of the State W. C. T. U. has been a factor for good in helping their sisters get the vote and have put their State wide organization at their service oftentimes when it was sorely needed.

Mrs. Susan Hammond Barney took the glad tidings of political emancipation, as well as the white ribbon, on her triumphal trip through Africa. Mrs. Mary A. Babcock was always on the spot when needed most; the name of Emeline Burlingame Cheney is linked up with all good works; no words of mine are needed to enhance the reputation of the "silver-tongued orator," Deborah Knox Livingston; Mrs. Jennie L. W. Rooke and Mrs. Ethelyn Roberts have both been good advocates. It was through Mrs. Rooke that I was shown the wisdom of lending my name to the W. C. T. U. as soon as it became of value in connection with suffrage. It would be hard indeed to estimate the debt which Rhode Island owes to this slight little woman with a soul so much greater than her frail body, who brought to us out of the West her message of hope for "Darkest Rhode Island" at its darkest period. As some one has said she made the W. C. T. U. "stylish as well as good," a real achievement for those pre-prohibition days. I am glad to remember that our friendship dates back almost twenty years when she first came to Rhode Island. Her mother, Mrs. Williamson, has always been an inspiring figure urging us on to greater deeds; nor should we omit honorable mention of Mr. George F. Rooke and her brother, Mr. Walter Williamson, without whose ever ready aid Mrs. Rooke would have been helpless to accomplish her great work.

The history of the Rhode Island W. C. T. U. has yet to be

compiled. It has had a long and useful career of well organized and untiring endeavor well worthy of permanent record in the annals of the State.

Organizations of all kinds at this stage of my life played a secondary part. As no children came to bless our union, my real life centered about Brown University, where I was studying for my master's degree under Prof. Courtney Langdon and Lester Frank Ward. With Prof. Langdon I studied French and Dante's "Divine Comedy." A young French girl, Mlle. Marguerité Schmitt, was with me at this time and we spent many hours of delightful companionship devouring French novels. She was not greatly interested in my hobby of "Votes for Women;" far more so, in her young lover whom she married later. They went to California. Alas! a growing realization of woman's rights, and woman's wrongs has been forced upon her in that sunny clime.

Much as I enjoyed Prof. Courtney Langdon with his fine sense of literary values, Prof. Lester Frank Ward opened up vistas of rarer delight. No one can measure the joy of studying in maturity. No callow youth can appreciate the feeling of enthralled ecstasy of sitting for hours pouring over such a book, as Ward's "Applied Psychology" or his "Dynamic Sociology," from pure love of the doing with no nightmare of future tortures in the way of examinations or "plucks." My marks with Prof. Ward were H's, whereas in my younger days they seldom approached that lofty height. It is to this love of study on the part of adults that we owe the universal success of extension courses. It may yet result in special departments for mature men and women of leisure. Studying with Prof. Ward was like sitting at the feet of Aristotle, or Plato, as one of his former students, I believe it was Prof. Edward A. Ross, so aptly expressed it once while lecturing at Brown. He was the wisest man I have ever known and many of his former students, who are now heading departments of their own in universities throughout the country, look upon him as their finest example of the model teacher. After Borden Parker Bowne, the idealist, the teachings of Prof. Ward naturally seemed somewhat materialistic, but both of these truly great teachers were free from the dogmatism which frequently characterizes lesser minds. Prof. Ward, while in Providence, lived to a great extent the life of a recluse. We became very friendly, perhaps because I insisted on it. We took him for a ride

in our auto of the vintage of 1910 and, when the tire gave out according to the habit of those days, found him much more conversant with the mechanism of the car than were its owners. Ellen Tarr Calder and he came to our home for dinner and were much interested in reviewing their Washington experiences. Among my choicest books I number all of his, duly autographed with what he considered the key sentence of each inscribed on the front leaf in his firm round hand. In 1911 he invited me to



ALGEO AUTO. VINTAGE, 1910

continue studying with him for my Ph.D., taking as my thesis "The Growth of the Humanitarian Instinct." In refusing to do this I made the greatest sacrifice for woman suffrage that the cause demanded from me, then or thereafter, but the work seemed to need my undivided attention at that particular time or as the Methodists would say "I felt the call." Was it the part of wisdom to abandon academic pursuits to labor for the enfranchisement of my sex? There is no doubt that younger women of leisure were badly needed at this particular time. Throughout the country



Very sincerely yours
Lester F. Ward

[The following poem written by Mr. Koopman, Librarian of John Hay Library, Brown University, fittingly describes the feeling of veneration held for Prof. Ward by his colleagues.]

TWO TRAVELLERS FROM EARTH

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, Died March 31, 1913

LESTER FRANK WARD, Died April 18, 1913

Two travellers from Earth had scaled the height
 Where sits the Spirit of the Time enthroned.
 "Who come?" the Spirit asked; then one, clear-toned,
 Made answer: "Earth I governed in thy right,
 Thy vicar; men and nations by thy might
 I raised and I cast down; thy will I owned ;
 No thought I knew but thine; the planet loaned
 I now return, made goodly in thy sight."
 "Ay!" said the Spirit, "and thy life I filled
 With knowledge, beauty, joy of every sense ;
 But come, take here thy further recompense,
 And watch Earth run forever as I willed."
 "But who art thou? I know thee not." Then he:
 "I molded thy supplanter; turn and see!"

—*Harry Lyman Koopman*

8 JUNE, 1913.

the pioneers were girding up their loins for the final struggle, which the victories in Washington and California was expected to precipitate.

Miss Yates and I drew many of our best arguments from the hours spent in Prof. Ward's classroom. In some of my old suffrage speeches the influence of Prof. Ward looms large. One given at Newport starts bravely with the words "The Equal Suffrage Movement is as old as the world itself" and gives in terms more or less biologic the theory of evolution, ending with the words:

"Somehow in that long and tedious journey upward to the human, a soul crept in, that elusive spirit which 'sleeps in the stone, dreams in the animal and awakes in the man.' And what of the relations of the sexes on this wonderfully interesting biological march? If we can believe eminent biologists and trust our own observation 'Throughout the animal world below man, in all the serious and essential affairs of life, the female is still supreme. Notwithstanding the apparently superior aesthetic

qualities which the male has acquired through the process of natural selection, the female still asserts her supremacy and exercises her prerogative of discrimination as sternly and pitilessly as when she far surpassed the male in these qualities.' The female of the species kept this supremacy during the first stage of human development or what has been termed the matriarchate in which form of society the mother is head of the household and not the father as in the patriarchal stage which follows. I use the present tense with discretion for Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt tells us that she found a well defined form of matriarchy still in existence in Sumatra."

I then proceed to outline for the edification of the patient audience all sorts of forms of amazonism in Greece, Bohemia, South America, and among Semitic peoples and then proceed to Prof. Ward's own theory:

"But woman's greatest power, as bearer of the torch of life, became the cause of her downfall, as her physical strength receded owing to the ever increasing difficulty of childbirth; so man's authority in paternity increased and through his desire of lust backed up by his physical strength and appeals to the imagination, he overrode woman's preservative instinct of discrimination and selection.

"The passage from the gynæcocratic to the androcratic state was characterized on the part of man by the loss of his normal chivalry and respect for the preferences of woman and on the part of woman by loss of her virtue. The man saw he was the master creature, that woman was smaller, weaker, less shrewd and cunning than he; and at the same time could be made to contribute to his pleasure and wants and he proceeded to appropriate her accordingly. Sympathy or a keen sense of the rights of others comes late in the development of a race and it failed to come in time to prevent woman's undoing.

"History portrays with terrible fidelity her downward course as chattel of an unnatural claimant to body and soul; her slow regaining of her physical and property rights and her struggle for mental development. No greater irony exists than that of blaming woman for what she is when we consider the modelling process. That her course fraught with so much sadness and disaster has been a forward and not a backward one is due to the universal truth that as no stream can rise higher than its course, so no nation can rise higher than its women. An effete womanhood produces an effete manhood and it is well for the mother of the race that the battle cry, ever reverberating down through the ages has been 'Onward and Upward.'"

The "efficacy of human effort;" the "illusion of the near;" "Science, which is the essence of the positive world view, teaches

the spirituality of matter;" "When education shall imply a knowledge of nature its universal extension must result in progress;" "The Fundamental distinction between the animal and the human method is that *the environment transforms the animal while man transforms the environment*;" "Civilization has been brought about through human achievement and human achievement consists almost entirely in knowledge;" all these are gems of wisdom and philosophy imparted by Prof. Ward.

He had no sympathy with private schools of any sort but believed and brought forth a solid array of sociological arguments to prove that education is the *first* duty of the State and Nation. He was no alarmist but believed that a common knowledge should be shared by all through the common medium of the public school. I find this belief to be shared by practically all lovers of a true democracy. Susan B. Anthony thus lectures Mrs. Stanton because she is failing in her duty to her children by educating them at home:

"I am still of the opinion that whatever the short-comings of the public schools, your children would be vastly more profited in them, side by side with the very multitude with whom they must mingle as soon as school days are over. *Any and every private education is a blunder*, it seems to me. I believe those persons stronger and nobler who have from childhood breasted the commonalty. If children have not the innate strength to resist evil, keeping them apart from what they must inevitably one day meet, only increases their incompetency."

Susan B. Anthony and Lester Frank Ward were born teachers. Their authority should have great weight with every parent and teacher of today.

These two thinkers, between whom I gathered from Prof. Ward there was a strong friendship, had one trait in common; they did not shrink from the truth. Miss Anthony tells us:

"The fact is women are in chains and their servitude is all the more debasing because they do not realize it."

Prof. Ward recognized the weakness of the female sex but showed how it must and could be overcome. Suffragists throughout the country prized this honesty in Prof. Ward and gratefully acknowledged his influence in their own writing and teaching: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mary Johnston, Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale and many others recognized and utilized his system of sociology.



Success To Rhode Island!
Beatrice Fabes-Robertson Hall.
Oct: 1912.

In 1911, I received my A. M. degree from Brown University and quit the academic field to enter that of social and political service for so I regarded working for woman suffrage. Our household was running smoothly requiring but a small part of my time and attention. While we have from the time of our marriage in 1907 had a fairly large and attractive home, we have run it simply without undue labor. I find that women who give too much energy to their household soon have none to give elsewhere; indeed are likely to come to the place where they have nothing for their home. Housework and bridge carried to excess can prove deadly opiates to the feminine intellect. Especially is it necessary to seek life outside when there are no children to bring it into the home. My advice to young women is to cultivate some hobby before marriage of sufficient importance to keep up after marriage in case "hubby" should not prove quite sufficient to occupy every waking moment. One of my neighbors on Angell Street was a soloist in one of the large New York churches before her marriage. When I asked her why she had given up her music afterward she replied "Because I was a fool." In connection with housekeeping the advice of Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw recurs to me. It was to see that the grocer, the baker, the butcher, the laundry man, and all others who have taken over the work of the modern household do their job properly. If they fail in the tasks voluntarily assumed by them, get others who will not fail.

In looking over my guest-book, I find that we had many charming guests during this period of our married life. If the spirit moved them they were asked to insert with their names a poem, sketch, or what-not. Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Taylor Headland of Peking, China, spent two weeks with us. We had many pleasant chats about our cozy fireplace exchanging stories on the Empress Dowager and the wrongs of women. They left this tiny verse as their contribution to my guest-book:

The best thing in life
Say some is a wife
and daughters and sons, say some
But to me the best—
It includes the rest—
The best thing in life is a
Home.



Herbert B. Lardner.

Eva Channing of Boston was my guest in December, 1910, when we were living on Angell Street. She came to attend the Archaeological, Philological and Anthropological Convention, held at Brown University. We attended together most of the meetings and they proved far less complicated than the name would indicate. Miss Channing was somewhat familiar with Providence through childhood associations. One day with the ease imparted by generations of literary ancestors she scribbled the following for our delectation:

"It was a kindly Providence
Received unworthy me
When I left the 'Hub' to travel
On an archaeologic spree ;

"A place whose very highways breathe
Of Friendship, Plenty, Peace,—
Whose Benefit Benevolent
I'm sure will never cease.

"I dwelt while in this city
Of such a heavenly fame
With a pair of gracious angels
On a street that bears their name!"

Henry Ward Beecher was a bit late in coming into the suffrage fold, coerced into it we suspect by his energetic sisters. With his usual acumen he grasped at the heart of the movement. As far back as 1867, we find him defining woman's sphere:

"A woman that is content to wash stockings and make Johnny cakes, . . . and that never thinks beyond the meal-tub and whose morality is so small as to be confined to a single house, is an under-grown woman and will spend the first thousand years after death in coming to that state in which she ought to have been before she died. Every true and wise Christian woman is bound to have thought for the village, for the county, for the State and for the Nation."

CHAPTER IX

PLAYING AT POLITICS

The years 1911 and 1912 marked a distinct renaissance in the suffrage movement. The advent of California made six states of women voters, an important factor in the electoral college. We had talked about four voting states so long that suffragists themselves could hardly grasp the glorious truth that at last there were really six and naturally the antis never remembered. It used to be a great joke with one of our workers, Mrs. Carroll Miller, that her anti-friends were always talking about the same old four. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho had been our arguments for so many years that when Washington was won in 1910 we could have danced for joy and California, following so shortly, seemed a plethora of riches. Battles began now to rage fiercely in four other states and stars continued to multiply on the suffrage flag as time went on, augmenting women's power in the electoral college. Organizations also increased such as men's leagues and woman suffrage parties. The election of Rudolph Blankenburg, an ardent suffragist, as Mayor of Philadelphia, was considered a great victory and we are told that one of the organizations formed in his honor in that city was the Policeman's League for Woman Suffrage, composed of a large percentage of the force. Other society leaders followed the example of Mrs. Belmont and opened headquarters in New York City. Organizations in the States began to multiply likewise; so great was the competition, that it was difficult for the National Association to keep them all under control.

For the International situation we followed with intense interest the world tour of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who was systematically establishing branches of the International Suffrage Alliance in China, Japan, India, Persia and other countries where opportunity presented. Twenty-two countries were already aligned in this group.

At this time the movement entered into its last stage which we may safely term chiefly that of propaganda. Parades, pageants, pilgrimages, floats, balls, fairs, theatricals, store windows, movies, luncheons, dinners, teas, out-door meetings, church gatherings, voiceless speeches, heckling political aspirants, all the old devices

with some new ones added, were employed throughout the country to attract attention to the insistent demand of women for the vote. Dr. Shaw suggested that the prairie schooner be revived by the out-of-door workers to help advertize. The woman suffrage party served the purpose of securing large enrollments without cost, a departure from the old dues-paying system. It was a tremendous spur in arousing interest.

The opposition solidified. Not only was this made up of a group of mistaken women who thought they were doing right by maintaining an autocratic form of government but it was composed of every vice interest in the country who used every malign power at their disposal to defeat woman suffrage. From my own observation I should say that the women who opposed suffrage were but a tiny and negligible part of the general mass of obstruction.

In Rhode Island during this momentous period the struggle for votes for women reached fever heat and remained so until we had played our part to the full extent of our power. There were four underlying causes for this: Rhode Island women became permeated with the desire to win similar honors to those being captured by other states. It had been an experiment station long enough for testing the constitutionality of Presidential suffrage. The time had come when iron entered the soul of our women and we resolved to gain our point whatever the cost. The incessant question of women was not "Why should we vote?" but "Why should we not vote?" We had done everything else from the home to the factory and were willing to tempt the unknown terrors of casting a ballot and what is more, had made up our minds to do it. Berton Braley tries to express in poetic form what we were all thinking in stern prose:

THE CRY OF THE WOMEN

By Berton Braley—The Woman's Journal

THE WIVES

We have borne you sons and daughters
And suffered in joy our pain ;
In war with its myriad slaughters
We have cared for wounded and slain ;
We have shared your dream of tomorrow,
We have shared your work of today,

We have comforted you in sorrow,
We have smiled when the skies were gray.
We are fit for wives and mothers, in palace or tiny cote ;
We are fit for the fret and trouble, but we are not fit to vote!

THE TOILERS

We have worked in the sweatshop reeking,
We have toiled in the roaring mill ;
When you in your need came seeking
We gave you our strength and skill ;
We have battled against temptation
And we skimped and starved the while ;
We have faced the situation
With a brave and dauntless smile.
We are fit to fight for a living, to take the world by the throat ;
We are fit to share the labor, but we are not fit to vote!

Mrs. Pankhurst's coming in 1911 showed the power possessed by our sex if used to the utmost. This time she came quietly and went quietly though I noticed that no one insisted upon entertaining her and she was my guest upon this and her two succeeding visits. In 1912, we were already mulling over the idea, which took definite shape in 1914, of removing the heads of some of our worst enemies. In other words, we felt that the uniform courtesy and suavity which met the requests of the "ladies" at the State House was but a neatly clothed sort of tyranny as truly as that which the English women were combating with bricks and stones.

Our working force was a good one at this time, mainly college women, who were accustomed to get what they sought. Through the generosity of Mr. Algeo and Mrs. Gustav Radeke, we were enabled to open headquarters in Butler Exchange and from this stronghold felt emboldened to defy the enemy. Mrs. Camillo Von Klenze, an indefatigable worker, a clear thinker, and a popular speaker, as President of the College Equal Suffrage League, wielded a great influence in winning over the academic world. I gladly render this able co-worker my honest tribute for her willing efforts in behalf of the women of Rhode Island when her aid was most welcome. Mrs. Carl Barus lent her analytical mind to the educational side of our campaign and Mrs. Carroll Miller, the distinguished female Demosthenes of the late Democratic Convention, was also one of our best workers at this time.



ALTHEA L. HALL



MRS. COLT AND FAMILY

CARLETON

EDITH

CONVERSE

She had three fine boys whom she always used as Exhibit A, thus winning her way to the hearts of her masculine listeners. I didn't have any boys, or girls either, for that matter, so Maud Howe Elliott warned me to preface my speechlets with some such diplomatic remark as "Not having been blessed with any little ones," or similar soft soap to indicate that woman's first job was in the home and all that sort of piffle. Woman's job is where she is needed most and where she chooses to be and I, for one, am thankful that the world is at last waking up to a realization of that fact. It is a blessed thing to mother one's own and it is equally blessed to mother the many in making the world a better place for all of God's little ones.

The women of my own generation were especially active at this time. Althea Hall of Pawtucket, led in activities in that city. Mrs. Le Baron C. Colt of Bristol, was born a suffragist, I am convinced. Enid M. Pierce of Providence, was one of the best loved reformers that ever took upon herself the task of making a clear path for women. Mrs. Sara L. G. Fittz of New York, began to make herself well-nigh indispensable at this time, both as publicity woman and public speaker.

The coming of Louise Hall from Boston, as organizer, was a distinct step in advance. She and I, with the assistance of some of the men folk, arranged for a booth at the food fair, displayed maps and circulated leaflets; an example followed by others in later years. Mr. Arnold Essex helped us build and decorate the booth in order to be counted, as he said, on the intelligent side. All honor to Mr. Essex, whom the antis would have rejoiced to enlist in their ranks! As chairman of the Program Committee of the Collegiate Alumnae, I was able to bring President M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr College, to speak before that group on "Votes for Women." There was some grumbling on the inside, but it was brushed away by the vivid personality and authoritative mien of this peerless academician. The dinner in her honor was a great success and won many converts. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw came to us and addressed a large audience in the Mathewson Street Church. Miss Louise Hall, with Miss Althea Hall of Pawtucket, started the first open air meetings of Rhode Island, before she and Mrs. Von Klenze were called into the active campaign going on in Ohio. We could ill spare them, but gave them our blessing and God speed for the place where they were needed most.

No social force added to the momentum of the suffrage movement as did the wide-spread publicity that was now universally given to it. It was a far cry from the days when "hen conventions" were made the jibe of every young reporter. There



FIRST OPEN AIR SUFFRAGE MEETING IN RHODE ISLAND

is no class so quick to sense the rising and falling tides of social movements as journalists. They saw now that woman's hour had struck. Besides, the stunts of the suffragists made good news, which the good-natured seeker for that commodity played up for all it was worth. Alice Park of California, told me that she

and one or two other women won the vote in Arizona, through the country editor, suffering from paucity of news, who was simply pining for something exciting for his sheet. In Rhode Island it would be impossible to compute the service rendered by the *Providence Journal*, *Tribune*, *News*, *Pawtucket Times*, *Bristol Phenix*, *Westerly Sun*, *Woonsocket Call*, *Warren Gazette*, *Newport News*, *Herald* and *Mercury*, *Wickford Standard* and *Pawtuxet Valley Times*.

I am careful to include the smaller papers in my list. No one who has not lived in the country can compute their influence. We are fortunate in having Mary Cutter as Editor of the *Warren Gazette*. She can be trusted to save from the wastebasket, stories of real significance to women, when overlooked by her masculine compeers. I have in mind the story of little Jennie Santos, who was recently married at the age of twelve, because the common law in Rhode Island permits giving marriage certificates to girls of that age. Had it not been for the *Warren Gazette* and Mary Cutter, we would be in ignorance of the fact that such relics of barbarism still linger in our laws. More women are needed as reporters, editors and owners of daily papers.

From the beginning my particular job seemed to be to provide publicity when it was like making bricks without straw. Always these newspapers lent a sympathetic ear to my feeblest attempts and to each and all of them, I extend this belated "Thank You."

Without the *Providence Tribune* and *Journal*, our work would have come to a standstill. Mr. Matthew S. Dwyer of the *Tribune*, was a warm friend and created publicity when we failed in our attempts. I remember taking Rose Livingston, the Queen of Chinatown, into his office where she was greeted with so genial a reception and her story treated with such respect that she considered our lot a bed of roses in comparison to other places. Possibly we might have traced this attitude of receptivity to our good friend, Samuel P. Colt, and his brother, Senator Le Baron B. Colt. We never knew, but took with thankfulness the goods the gods provided.

The coöperation of the *Journal* was still more priceless in that it was more far-reaching. My scrapbooks are filled with cartoons and stories from local papers which give a connected account of our activities, from the time I became interested, until the day of victory.



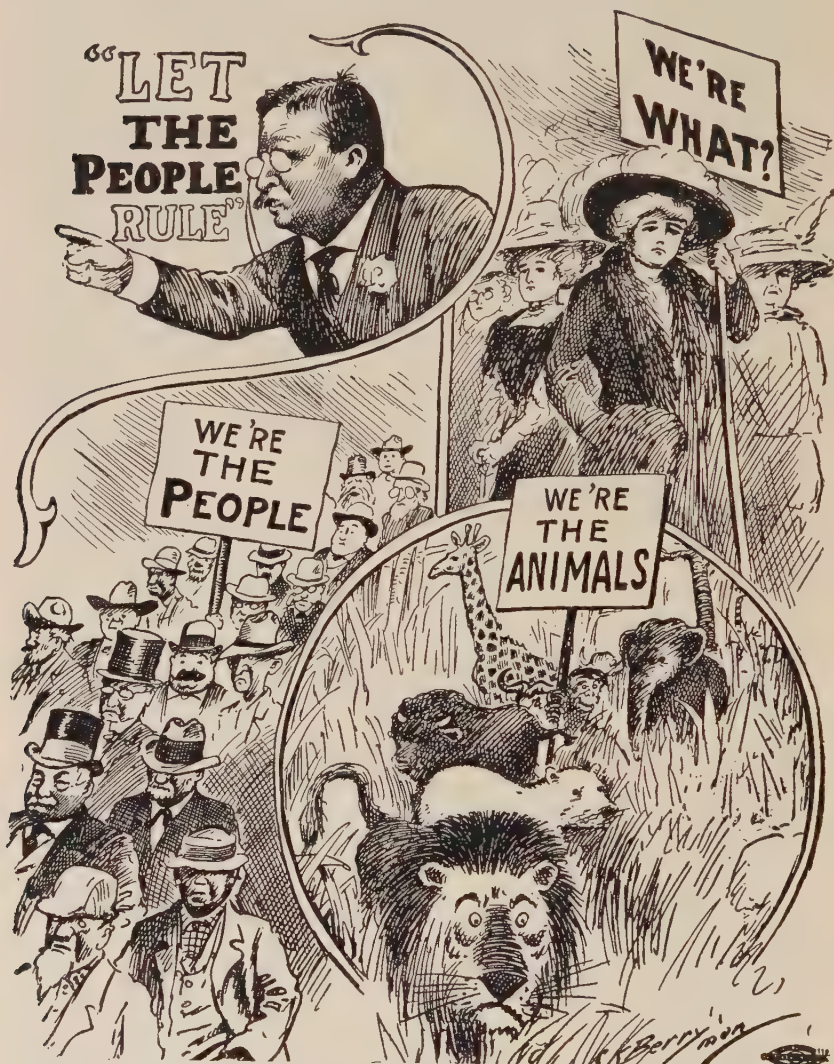
JOHN R. RATHOM

John R. Rathom, with his wife, Florence C. Rathom, were faithful exponents of every good work done in Rhode Island; the woman's cause was no exception. As early as 1912, we had a series of fine articles giving the history to date of suffrage by Frederic J. Haskin. Mrs. Sara L. G. Fittz contributed many articles, both witty and wise, and symposiums by Miss Slocum, Mrs. Colcleugh and other women journalists, were of frequent occurrence. Milton Halliday's cartoons were always to the point, pat to the occasion.

I am glad I knew John R. Rathom. To me he typified the really great citizen who must of necessity, by sheer force of character, leave an everlasting impress for good upon the community so fortunate as to possess him. The real John R. Rathom is not dead: his great personality still lives in the Boy Scouts of which he was the master mind; the story of the World War can never be written without due record of his prophetic and heroic service; the state police might not now be a reality but for his and Governor Beeckman's early insistence. I am glad John R. Rathom believed in women and their right to vote; I shudder to think of the harm he might have done as head of the great *Providence Journal* had he lacked faith in our cause.

In the formation of the Progressive Party in 1912, came women's first great opportunity to play politics. Like children looking for a new game we entered into this novel sport, for in our heart of hearts, we women of the East, at least, knew we didn't count much, save at the old pastime of licking postage stamps. It was good fun anyway to try our wings in this new game of make-believe, for a voteless woman was a voteless woman and we knew it and those who had studied their State Constitution knew also that all the plums would go to qualified electors. We couldn't even be notary publics. In Rhode Island the outstanding figure in the Progressive Party was Maud Howe Elliott of Newport. My heart goes out to her in sympathy as I pen these lines, for I read in today's *Journal*, (May 27, 1925), of the death of her husband, John Elliott, in a hospital yesterday in Charleston, South Carolina. A sweet and gentle child has gone home for John Elliott, great artist as he was, never grew up. To me there seemed a touch of unreality, a suggestion of another world about Mr. Elliott. With his dainty whimsicalities, his utter lack of present day worldliness, his high loyalties and devotion to his

VOTES FOR WOMEN



NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, 505 Fifth Avenue, New York City

dearly beloved, he might well have been one of the few who come "trailing clouds of glory" from God who is their home.

Mrs. Elliott, however, at first attached herself to the Boston group of Progressives, so it was left for Florence Garvin and me to do honors as hostesses for Col. Roosevelt, when he opened his campaign in Rhode Island in July. The Progressive platform contained all the ancient reforms which its makers could remember and some new ones were devised. How plainly that evening in Infantry Hall comes back; Col. Roosevelt enunciating principles, denouncing corrupt political practices in his shrill falsetto; winning admiration, but not votes in the Republican stronghold of Rhode Island. The Progressive Party of 1912 was good discipline for the G. O. P. in Rhode Island, but the real chastisement of that reactionary body was reserved for a later date. A wonderful opportunity for questions presented itself at dinner, when Miss Garvin and I sat next to Mr. Roosevelt. The former President claimed that he remembered me as having been presented to him in 1905, by Congressman Granger—another of the many instances of the remarkable memory of this more than remarkable man.

Of course Miss Garvin and I, at the first opportune moment, felt compelled to lug in the subject of suffrage and quiz the Colonel on his attitude. Some time before he had called it "tepid" and to find "Teddy tepid" on anything had amused the suffragists, especially Dr. Shaw, with her keen sense of the incongruous. As a Progressive, Mr. Roosevelt was no longer "tepid." His high regard for Jane Addams and his recent visit to California had convinced him of the righteousness and the inevitability of the cause. His views on prohibition were even more interesting to us, owing to the fact that at this time grossly exaggerated stories were being broadcast of the ex-President's excessive drinking. One eminent doctor had told us with every similitude of truth that he had heard personally from Col. Roosevelt's private physician that he was suffering from paresis caused by overindulgence in stimulants. The Colonel was apparently much intrigued by these facts, which I gave him in full, with the advice that he bring suit to have the matter settled for all time for his own satisfaction, as well as that of his followers. He laughingly disclaimed imbibing stronger beverages than milk, which he did take in large quantities and an infrequent glass of wine. I have often won-

dered if our frank conversation upon this personal subject precipitated the suit brought by him against a western editor, which settled once and for all the gossip about his drinking habits in the minds of the American public.

My admiration for Mr. Roosevelt, who then, and now, seemed the man for that special hour, was not the only magnet which drew me to the Progressive Party. "Let the People Rule," "Equal Rights," "Pass Prosperity Around," "Protect the Laborer," were golden words of hope for women like me who had seen the hopelessness of bucking the old machines, which either separately or by careful interlocking successfully evaded popular issues. Mrs. Elliott describes this "unholy alliance" in her "Three Generations."

"The machine in Rhode Island is a pretty nearly perfect one. We owe it in part to Senator Aldrich, in part to the blind Boss Brayton and some others whose names I do not know. The machine does not represent either party, but an unholy alliance between Republicans and Democrats, which parcels out the offices of the State as per agreement. At present the order seems to be that the national offices go to the Republicans and the city offices to the Democrats. So complete is the harmony between the powers that a group of innocent and enthusiastic reformers, who tried to oust from his office a Democratic mayor of Newport, who was a disgrace to the city and State, found that it was impossible for them to elect their candidate because their own party was working against them and even financing the opposition."

Rotten as politics are now with the "people ruling" to a greater degree, the old lethargy has given place to a nervous apprehension, a far healthier state of mind for any citizenry.

In September, Maud Howe Elliott was invited to take charge of the women's work in the Progressive Party, by the somewhat helpless committee of men, who had a loose organization under Mr. Tuttle of Woonsocket. With her usual vivacity the daughter of Julia Ward Howe, began to make things hum. After her entrance, no one had a dull or idle moment. To me she was Commodore; to her I was Captain, and as Commodore and Captain we pulled together to the fatal day of election. Never before, or since, has Providence had such an intellectual feast as that provided by this distinguished daughter of a distinguished mother. Hither and yon came speakers and friends "without money and without price" to serve the former society belle; Dudley Foulke,

the old war horse of Indiana; Jacob Riis, of tenement house fame; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird, Alice Carpenter, Frances Kellor, Winston Churchill, Bourke Cochran, with his inimitable oratory; Oscar Strauss, William Gillette, Hiram Johnson and our own crop of local speakers, among the best being Professors Collier and Langdon, simply flooded the State with wisdom and oratory.



MAUD HOWE ELLIOTT AND SARA M. ALGEO

Mary Antin came for a couple of days. She surprised me in our long and friendly talks by her negative attitude on woman's rights. Later, she too, learned from dire experience the need of all the protective and political power that women can procure. This was the first of her several visits to our city.

I remember distinctly one glorious day when my Commodore delegated me as "guide, philosopher and friend" to Gifford Pinchot. I met him in Providence at the Union Station, accompanied him to Oak Glen, the home of Mrs. Elliott in Portsmouth, where we had a wonderful luncheon, then back to Providence for his own persuasive broadside. Crossing the Bristol Ferry he pointed out more than one mirage rising from the waters of Narragansett Bay. Unaided I have never been able to find them. It would be interesting to know how many others have discovered this phenomenon of nature in making that trip.

Mr. Pinchot kept up an animated flow of conversation upon reforestation, the tennis cabinet and other things for which I was pining for first-hand knowledge. The future Governor of Pennsylvania fully convinced me of his sincerity and capacity for that office.

A tiny and seemingly unimportant incident stands out in my mind in connection with that luncheon. Among the twelve guests were Ethel Simes-Nowell, Daniel LeRoy Dresser, Mrs. John Nicholas Brown and others from Newport. Possibly as the one from more distant parts I was served first. You can imagine my mortification when I dropped my portion of chicken in my lap, a mishap probably caused by cold hands, acquired in our morning ramble about Oak Glen. Did my fellow guests smile at my misfortune? Not at all. Their genuine good breeding would have indicated that my *faut pas* was the established custom.

With the "Flying Squadron," consisting of two cars gaily decked with our precious slogans we toured the State with Mrs. Elliott as the picturesque *pièce de résistance* in the banquet of progressive oratory prepared for our fellow countrymen. Varied indeed was the hospitality extended to our band. In Woonsocket we experienced the creepy feeling of sleeping in hotel beds where the sheets were *too short*. A nightmare of my drummer predecessors haunts me yet. The flavor of Mother Prentice's delicious oyster stew still fondly lingers. To cap the climax of our progress we were entertained in Newport at the exquisite Meunchinger-King as the guests of Mrs. John Nicholas Brown—truly, an adventure of quixotic contrasts! We spoke four times a day, distributed tons of pamphlets, saw the beauties and crudities of our little State, as few have the privilege, had a gorgeous time and con-

verted—how many? You will have to ask the good Dr. Edward M. Harris, who supplied the cars; Dr. Garvin, Mrs. Elliott, Mr. Humes, Claude C. Ball, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Hanscom, Reuben Peckham, and the others who furnished the eloquence. I know I was well repaid for all my time and trouble in organizing the week's tour by the experience in out-of-door speaking, an experience which proved of immense value later in the suffrage campaign. I learned to talk down electric cars and to change speaker or tactics



DR. GARVIN, MRS. ELLIOTT AND MRS. ALGEO, "OFF FOR A MILL."

when the restless audience began to drift away. I became an adept at opening a meeting with two small boys and a dog to whom our drum always proved enticing bait. I usually seized upon Jane Addams as my best argument, for I had made a thorough study of her life and found it solid ground. The newspapers, especially the *Providence Journal*, gave us impartial publicity. As one reporter told me in the heat of election, it is usually the fellow who gets his manuscript to the paper first that gets most space, so we learned to hustle our speeches in along with or

before those of the Republicans and Democrats. For so small a minority we certainly made a very big noise.

Many suffragists did not join the Progressive Party so we arranged three or four cornered debates: Mrs. Fittz, Democrat; Helen Daugherty, Socialist; Miss Yates, Democrat; and I talked it out one night at headquarters I remember. My most lasting memory picture of the Progressive Party is Election Night, November 4, 1912; wild men and women parading Westminster



AT THE GARVIN'S HOME IN LONSDALE

Street in automobiles; John Elliott, his boyish face alight with enthusiasm, shouting through a megaphone, "Vote for Roosevelt." Again I say we had a gorgeous time.

The Progressive Party, combined with Mrs. Elliott's persuasive power, brought many new workers into the suffrage movement. Esther Abelson, Gertrude Lawson, Mrs. John W. North, of Providence, and a number of Newport women came to see the need of woman's vote at this time. Mrs. Elliott became the head of the Newport County Suffrage League, and as always, inspired her fresh undertaking with a new life. I wish I could think of all

the workers who joined in our hue and cry for a better government. Some of them do loom up before me as I tap the subconscious strata of my brain: Mr. Frank E. Ballou, the shoeman; Rev. and Mrs. Edward L. Marsh, Rev. Edward Holyoke, Bishop Perry, if I am not mistaken inclined to us; Miss Mary B. Anthony, the Armstrong sisters, Mr. and Mrs. Percy Kinney, Mr. Marcus Crahan, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Waterman, Althea Hall, Mr. Shehardi, Mr. Bolan, Mr. Binning, Ernest Atwood, Benjamin Lindemuth, of Bristol; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Biesel, of Newport; Daniel LeRoy Dresser was a particularly dramatic figure, one of Roosevelt's rough riders, a big and lovable boy; Abby Gardiner, of Wickford, and Dr. Andrews, of Woonsocket. I tried in vain to convert my husband to the cause. He stubbornly asserted that he was going to vote for Wilson, (the first time I believe that he ever voted the Democratic ticket), which shows plainly that no one vote ever truly represents a family. Strange as it may seem since women have the vote we are much more harmonious in our ballots.

CHAPTER X

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL

The years from 1912 to 1920 might well be termed the propaganda stage in the history of woman suffrage for it would seem that women hesitated at nothing from the sublime to the ridiculous to keep their cause before the eye of the public and its representatives. We never neglected education for the sake of propaganda, however, impatient though we might become at times with its slower processes. We combined all methods with an energy that deserved final victory. From this time on my time, winter and summer, and all the money we could spare was dedicated to the pursuit of woman's enfranchisement. Where there is so great activity there is sure to be some friction. Sometimes this generated National and State quarrels and divisions. We had our difficulties in Rhode Island as elsewhere. I believe that a certain amount of rivalry, or as I used to like better to call it in my own mind, "wholesome competition," is good for any work or business and I have often noticed that the people who are always talking harmony and unity are the least inclined that way. Some of the women used to enlarge upon the evils of work overlapping. It has been borne in upon me by experience that to fill up the empty chinks is equally important. In our group of suffrage workers there was one good woman who with great frequency talked coöperation and unity. When she started in a meeting to rally around her kindred spirits on her favorite topic I knew that before the end somebody would be spanked and that it was likely to be someone whom I knew very well. The storm would brew gently at first but before it was over the real business of the afternoon or evening would be shelved in a hectic discussion of matters quite apart from the main issue. Fortunately our internal warfare left no permanent scars and did succeed in coralling more newspaper space as the ordinary newspaper likes nothing better than a good fight. No rancor exists in my own heart as I look back on those strenuous days when we sought political liberty.

I often think of the words of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt when we were discussing the general contentiousness of suffra-

gists on the return trip from the International Suffrage Alliance Congress at Geneva in 1920. It was my precious privilege to have long talks with this international leader and stateswoman and to catch a glimpse of the mental processes of one who has done more to mould the thought of the women of the world than any other individual. She admitted freely that fully as much of her time and resourcefulness as President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association had been consumed in settling state difficulties as in planning and executing its procedure. But she had learned, as all successful public workers must learn, not to allow personal differences to sap her strength. She said laughingly that when she met her opponent after some disagreement the thought would flash through her mind, "It seems to me I ought to be mad with you about something but I've forgotten what," and the ghost of discord would be laid at rest. In other words if only from the selfish point of view it is wise to keep our minds free from personal spleen and filled with affairs of moment. Prof. Ward advanced the theory that it required from the worst town gossip as much effort to fill his mind with filth as for the scientist to store his well regulated brain. If sensitive people could learn this lesson of Mrs. Catt's early in life how much more agreeable would be their contacts with others. I was much pleased in almost my last interview with Mr. John R. Rathom in 1920, I believe, when he told me that of all the public women whom he knew he thought I had kept my poise best. By this I think he referred to my health and general willingness to leave the limelight for others when my special task was accomplished.

One recurring source of grief to me in my public work has been that I expected too great perfection from frail and faulty human nature. Advancing years have taught me to rejoice when people attain or exceed my fondest expectations as they are quite apt to do but never to bewail departures from an expected or hoped-for line of conduct. Again to quote, Mary McDowell's words of wisdom derived from her long experience in the University Settlement of Chicago, "I can stand anything in my workers,—stupidity, carelessness, or what-not,—but failure to tell the truth. When I can't trust a person then I consider it hopeless for us to try to work together." Maud Howe Elliott to whose rare good sense and wise counsel I am much indebted said that I set my standards too high especially for older people and consequently



Alice Stone Blackwell

suffered disappointment and hurt when they failed to measure up to these exalted requirements. I only know that many a heart-ache would be saved if a better understanding existed of dovetailing the psychology of different generations. The tactful handling of new and inexperienced workers is a subject for prayer and meditation if ructions are to be avoided. Especially was this coördination of forces a trying matter in so strong-minded and assertive a group as a cause like suffrage would naturally bring together. We were called strong-minded even in those late days. It was a term to which I never objected any more than I did to my title of "Sarah, the Just," when I was teaching school. Those of us on the inside might have applied the term strong-willed and obstinate to each other with a good deal of truth. Yet it was this very pig-headedness or pertinacity of purpose which made us disagreeable and controversial with each other that made us push more stubbornly toward our goal. So in Rhode Island as in every other State we had our wrangles, our flashes of anger, our grievances and our heart-burnings but the victory of 1920 purged them all from our hearts forever and with this final word I purge them from these pages.

In order to give a clear idea of our activities in Rhode Island at this time I give intact some excerpts from the *Woman's Journal* of Saturday, Nov. 1, 1913. Written for our Woman Journal Day this was a special Rhode Island number filled with Rhode Island news. Suffrage for women would never have become a reality, I am convinced, without the *Woman's Journal*, which was established in 1870 by the Blackwells and which day and night from that time on has been busy winning converts. My first task in suffrage had been to increase our subscribers in Rhode Island and thereafter I was welcomed as a contributor.

The first quotation is the words of Mary Brennan, a Rhode Island girl, a Brown University graduate, a devotee of Prof. Ward, a school-teacher in the West and now a lawyer in Washington, D. C. She was a welcome addition to our ranks with her piquant smile, her Irish blue eyes and wavy red hair. When in the mood she was a good out-door speaker but depended on her "hunches" too much for us to be always sure of her. She had a wonderful experience which we all envied, that of being a real voter. How we took pains to rub that ironic fact into our audiences!



SERVING TEA AT HEADQUARTERS FOR THE NEWSIES

A REAL WOMAN VOTER SPEAKS

BY MARY A. D. BRENNAN

Among the general arguments for "Votes for Women" here in Rhode Island, a few words from a real woman voter may not be amiss. For, in the land of the setting sun, the sun of political equality for woman and, as a result, the rereading of all human values, has risen over the horizon, and will soon blaze in full glory over all the western country.

I cannot, in a brief article, even mention the long list of just and sane laws that have been passed as a result of the voting of the mothers of the Pacific coast.

We have found in Washington, in Oregon, and in California, that the "bad women," so-called, are not anxiously thrusting themselves forward into the light of day. They do not court notoriety. But in voting have they not the same right that the corresponding man has? If the white slaver, why not the white slave?

Space, therefore, forbids my telling of the eight hours a day—48 a week—law for working women passed in Washington through the influence of the women's votes. I can but mention the "lazy

husbands' act" in the same State, whereby a woman may, by appealing to the court, have the State supply her husband with work and give her his wages; nor can I explain the minimum wage for women—\$9.60—passed in Oregon, nor dozens of others. I must concentrate on the two most typical, most notable results of woman's votes on the Pacific Coast—the recall of Mayor Hiram C. Gill of Seattle in January, 1911, and the recall of Judge Weller of San Francisco last year.

For years preceding 1911, Seattle had been a "wide-open" town, the paradise of the human riff-raff, from Bathhouse John's in Chicago to the Barbary Coast in 'Frisco, because there was a legally set-apart, legally protected restricted district. Within this district anarchy reigned—a series of assaults, thefts and murders in addition to the regular business. Some of this leaked out; the newspapers could not suppress it all. A crisis came when a high school boy was approached by a gambling tout near one of the select residential districts and told of a "good little game" down at the "Northern Club." The boy went, lost a good deal of his money, and, in appealing to one of his teachers to help him out with his father, the true situation came to light.

The decent men in Seattle were aroused to their duty. They started a "Recall petition," and worked hard against the strong opposition of big business and big vice. This was in September, 1910. In November, 1910, the amendment giving votes to women passed. The newly-enfranchised voters at once rolled up their sleeves and got to work getting signatures. The Recall election was held and "Hi" Gill defeated by George W. Dilling by 3000 votes. Ex-Mayor Gill's remark on learning the result is a part of Seattle history. "Damn the women" is not elegant, but it is forceful.

The case of Judge Weller in San Francisco is along similar lines. A little girl was lured to a park near the Golden Gate and assaulted. A man and his wife, passing in a wagon, heard moans. On the instance of the woman, they investigated, and found the girl tied up. They took her home and, when the news leaked out, a small mothers' club determined on action. Alone, without influence or money, they fought this good fight for justice and the protection of the children. The man was arrested, and held in \$1,000 bail. He appealed, and, the first judge being absent on a vacation, the case was heard by Judge Weller, who reduced the bail to \$100. The man skipped. Then it was that the mother spirit burst all bonds and entered into the fight with vice to the death. They started the Recall on Judge Weller. He scoffed at the idea. What could a pitiable little handful of women do to this all-powerful police judge? for he had been letting such men off on easy bail for years. He forgot the greatness of the mother heart when aroused by the danger of little children; he forgot the vote which so recently had made these women his political equals.

He evidently had forgotten Kipling's lines that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male" when defending the young. He was power-mad. Again, as in Seattle, the good men came to the women's aid, and, shoulder to shoulder, they fought for truth and virtue, and—won!

These cases merely prove that good men and good women have the same ideals and standards, and that either one, without the other's aid, is but half as strong. What has been done in the West can be done in the East; what has been accomplished for justice and sanity in the State of Washington can be accomplished in the State of Rhode Island.



WOMAN'S JOURNAL DAY

The measure of a woman is the value she places on another woman. In like manner, the measure of a man's democracy is the value he places on woman suffrage, for, in a democratic country, all people must have a voice in the government, or democracy is an idle boast. Lincoln's words on the Negro question, "No country can endure half-slave and half-free," are true today. Men of Rhode Island, get into the vanguard, and let the country see that you are tired of being led to progress by the West, and that your mothers and sisters and wives are no longer to be classed with the "pauper, criminal, and insane!"

Mrs. Elliott had assumed the generalship of the work in southern Rhode Island the year before. From that time on Newport was an important nerve centre opening up new avenues of contact with the summer colony.

SUFFRAGE WORK IN SOUTHERN RHODE ISLAND

BY MAUD HOWE ELLIOTT, PRESIDENT NEWPORT COUNTY
WOMAN SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

Rhode Island, "the smallest State of all," has two nerve centres in the suffrage work, as it once had two capitals, Providence and Newport. In the winter the greatest activity is found in Providence, a fine, conservative business city, whose inhabitants comprise half the population of the State. In the summer the centre of suffrage work shifts to Newport.

During the last summer the suffragists of Newport County have carried on a very active campaign. The opening gun was fired in the early days of July, when a meeting was held at Convention Hall on the beach. The chief speaker was our great forester, Gifford Pinchot, who, with all his heavy cares, found time and strength, like the true knight he is, to speak for the woman's cause.

This good send-off was followed by a series of meetings in the afternoon, and of open-air meetings in the evening. One of the afternoon meetings was opened by Bishop Darlington, of Harrisburg, Pa., who made a most moving appeal on the high ground that the churchmen both in England and the United States are now taking, that it is the sacred duty of women to interest themselves actively in the public housekeeping. Many of the meetings had for the presiding officers men of the highest standing in the State. The attendance has been large, the collections generous. It has been a heartening experience for all the workers, the faithful few of the Old Guard who have stood staunchly beside their leader, Cora Mitchell, who started and for years carried on the work in Newport County almost single-handed, and for the new and vigorous young workers who have rallied to the standard.

Perhaps the most encouraging sign of all—after our growing membership and the fattening of our slender purse—has been the calls we have received from different parts of the county to hold meetings. The spirit of Roger Williams is not dead in the State he founded, and his blood still moves like yeast in the veins of his descendants, some of whom we are pretty sure to find at every suffrage meeting.

Bristol, the most conservative place in the most conservative State north of Mason & Dixon's line; Bristol, last slaving port in our country, called us and we came, and are asked to come again. The leading people of the town were present, representatives of the Herreshoffs, the de Wolfs and the Colt families were all there, and if some came to scoff, many remained to pray. Jamestown sent for us, and it was the same story, the best people came; so that at least a hearing has been granted us.

What fine and generous help has come to us! From Washington came Edith Marsden; from California, Mrs. Alice Park (Rhode Island born and bred); a score of other strong ardent workers who have lent us their strength and their courage; and always from Providence came the staunch and generous support of the leaders of the old and new schools of suffrage work.

So, when the roll call of the States is called, little Rhode Island, the smallest State of them all, answers with her big sisters, Illinois, Massachusetts and New York, "Here!"

It is of especial and tender interest to the writer that, in the early days of the Newport County Woman Suffrage League, Julia Ward Howe was with Miss Mitchell the founder, heart and soul, spoke often at the meetings, and gave all help and comfort; so let this brief summary of the suffrage work in southern Rhode Island close with one line from a poem of hers, "The Tea-Party," which might well be adopted for a motto:

"To help the woman standard, new unfurled."

Our next quotation shows that the College Equal Suffrage League was proving itself a potent factor in educating women to the need of the vote:

COLLEGE LEAGUE DOES GOOD WORK

RHODE ISLAND ASSOCIATION BEGINS YEAR WITH BRIGHT PROSPECTS AND INCREASED NUMBER

The College Equal Suffrage League of Rhode Island is beginning its year with good prospects and a membership much larger than last year's.

Its first meeting, to be held in Manning Hall, Brown University, Tuesday, Nov. 4, at 8 P. M., will be addressed by its ex-president, Mrs. Camillo Von Klenze, on "The Modern German Woman." Mrs. Von Klenze has returned from a year's study in Germany of the woman movement among her kindred.

The next witness to be heard from in regard to the spirit of Rhode Island women in 1913 is Miss Yates, the President of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association:

THE OUTLOOK IN RHODE ISLAND

BY ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES, PRESIDENT RHODE ISLAND
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

How all pervasive and prevailing is the movement for the enfranchisement of women the world around, Rhode Island conspicuously manifests. In this State, whose conservatism is in inverse ratio to its area, and where full democracy for men is still limited by a property qualification, there is an awakening and in-



SELLING THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL IN FRONT OF GLADDING'S

creased interest in woman suffrage that promises practical results. While the activities and achievements that can be recounted seem insignificant in comparison with some other States, probably the actual advance from opposition and indifference to candid inquiry and popular interest is scarcely surpassed anywhere. From the soil enriched by the labors of such notable leaders as Elizabeth Buffum Chace and Anna Garlin Spencer, the late dormant seed is bursting forth with promise of fruitage in the not distant future.

The work of the State Association the past year has been along the lines of popular education. The State president has spoken to all sorts of organizations sufficiently interested to wish to hear a full and fair discussion of the subject. The number of men's organizations that have thus given opportunity for a presentation of the import of the movement has been particularly significant. Ministers' meetings, men's clubs, social and civic celebrations have afforded occasions for the removal of misapprehensions and false notions, the outgrowth of ancient prejudices, and the correction of false statements concerning the practical operation of woman suffrage. Teachers' meetings and mothers' clubs have also manifested a spirit of sympathy and inquiry by granting the subject prominence on their programs.

The fact that the leading suffragists in Rhode Island are also among the most prominent social workers, and have by their endeavors brought about legislation of conspicuous public benefit, strengthens greatly our influence with the people generally and the best men among the politicians.

We do not agree with those suffragists who think time and energy given to secure better laws is misspent. Rather, such work gives us a chance to advertise our interest in progressive legislation and increases public confidence in our fitness for the duties of active citizenship.

Newport affords special opportunities for suffrage propaganda during the summer, and under the able leadership of Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott our work has advanced there greatly. Practical organization is being carried on by the Woman Suffrage Party under the enthusiastic guidance of Mrs. Sara M. Algeo. The State Association fully appreciates the value of this line of endeavor, and gives to it hearty co-operation.

Rhode Island is particularly fortunate in the harmony within the ranks of the suffrage workers. This is largely due to a frank recognition of "diversity of gifts, but the same spirit."

Conservatives and radicals are making their appeals each to their own order, and each winning support from kindred spirits.

All the suffrage organizations will unite to secure a favorable vote on presidential suffrage in the coming Legislature. Backed by systematic organization and wise endeavors, we hope to attain to this very potent fraction of enfranchisement, and take our place in the enviable ranks of the National Council of Women Voters.

I add my voice to the general chorus:

RHODE ISLAND WOMEN ALERT

BY SARA M. ALGEO, GENERAL CHAIRMAN RHODE ISLAND
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

Rhode Island is keenly alive to the importance of equal suffrage for women. Nowhere is this interest shown more clearly than in the rather phenomenal growth of the Woman Suffrage Party.

Since the inspiring talk of Mrs. Catt last May on the value of this form of political organization, over a thousand members have been enrolled; competent leaders and captains have been found for several of the districts in Providence, Pawtucket and Newport; so many demands for speakers and meetings have come in that



THREE WOMAN JOURNAL NEWSIES

they can scarcely be filled, and a fine group of women have come forth with the sacrificial spirit which makes them willing to do the hard, grimy work that, while it lacks the poetry or the fireworks of the big meeting, makes our politicians sit up and wonder whose head in their midst we have in mind for our first blow.

Canvassing, teas, street meetings, Woman's Journal Day, bazaars and what not, indicate that the day of the parade is not far off, and when it comes it will not be a small one.

Especially good work is being done by our colored people. Miss Helen Thomas, who called together the first Woman Suffrage Party meeting in District 3, has competent captains in Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Greene, both prominent in philanthropic work among colored people. The Rhode Island Union of Colored Women, representing their race throughout the State, passed a resolution endorsing the suffrage movement and promising support.

Our Swedish and Norwegian population is well informed on the question, and almost universally in sympathy.

Miss Mary A. D. Brennan, a splendid type of the Irish-American college woman, and Mrs. Sara Fitz, a teacher from New York, have done excellent propaganda work, and have gained a strong constituency among the Irish-American group. And, much to our joy, our Jewish women are waking up, and, owing to their capable leaders, they are accomplishing good work.

The general plan of work of the Woman Suffrage Party divides itself into three heads for the year 1913-1914: First, to maintain Headquarters. Excellent ones have already been started at 602 Jackson Building on Westminster street, where everyone, especially helpers, will always be welcomed.

Second: To open up as far as possible through good organizers the one hundred assembly districts of Rhode Island, and see them equipped with good leaders and captains.

Third and most important: To leave no stone unturned to put through this year's Legislature the Presidential Suffrage Bill, which has been the goal of Rhode Island suffragists for more than twenty years. Rhode Island women are quite alive to the national importance of this measure at this time and are going in to win.

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst will speak in Infantry Hall, Nov. 14, at 8 P. M. This meeting is under the auspices of the Woman Suffrage Party, and gives that organization an opportunity to add to its treasury. The tickets, reserved section, one dollar, admission 50 cents, may be obtained at the news stand, Providence Journal Building. Don't fail to hear Mrs. Pankhurst, and at the same time help swell our funds. We need the money.

The W. S. P. will bring out a special edition of the Woman Citizen on Nov. 4. Mrs. Jeannette S. French, the editor, leader in District 6 in Pawtucket, has generously extended this opportunity.



THIS PICTURE OF *The Woman's Journal* NEWSGIRL HAD ITS BIRTH IN RHODE ISLAND, WHERE WOMAN'S JOURNAL DAY IS BEING CELEBRATED THIS WEEK.

Mrs. Max Abelson is the agent of the W. S. P. for *The Woman's Journal*. She has already secured about 50 subscriptions. Make it possible for her to go to the Washington Convention by sending her your subscription before Nov. 15.

Save your pennies for the big Rhode Island Suffrage Bazaar the first week in December. All offers of service and gifts will be gladly hailed at 602 Jackson Building.

About thirty women are selling *Woman's Journals* in Providence today, not to mention those who have prepared our lunch at Headquarters. Next year we want fifty.

The lecture of Mrs. Florence Howe Hall on "Poet and Philanthropist" (her mother and father) was very fine. Julia Ward Howe was reincarnated in her daughter's portrayal.

In this same issue appears an editorial in regard to Dr. Helen C. Putnam's "School Janitors, Mothers and Health," which emphasizes one argument always stressed by suffragists,—that the home and school are one:

A BOOK FOR MOTHERS

Dr. Helen C. Putnam has given us one of the most valuable books published for many a day in her little volume entitled "School Janitors, Mothers and Health."* Clearly, sensibly and convincingly, it sets forth the many points in which most schools could be improved, in their construction, housekeeping, and habits, in order to bring the children up to the highest state of health, and to keep from harming their bodies while training their minds. If every woman's club would study this book and act upon its suggestions, it would result in saving literally thousands of little lives.

Dr. Putnam explains how women, even without the ballot, can bring about important reforms in the schools by intelligent and concerted effort. She also emphasizes the fact that they need the ballot in order to make their work as effective as it should be; and she urges the vital need of having janitors trained for their business and taught the principles of sanitation. Dr. Putnam says:

"There are few things more illogical—it would be a huge joke if it were not so terribly tragic—than for a government of fathers to collect all sorts and conditions of children away from their mothers, in public buildings cared for by ordinary working men

*American Academy of Medicine Press, Eaton, Pa. Price, \$1.00 postpaid.

(rarely by women) without training in housekeeping or health methods. No good housewives have the dirty, dusty floors and bad smells with which government shuts up children and teachers. . . . We are justified in expecting good housekeeping for schools in at least the ten States where women are now citizens. If mothers and housekeepers, whose points of view governments have suffered so long without, bring into public service for children the trained skill of homemakers, then which we have no greater need just now, the value of ballots in their hands is proved." Again, she says: "Mothers' clubs, better than an individual with no backing, can study the cleanliness of a school and 'make the best' of bad floors and bad walls by intelligent effort. Except in the equal suffrage States, mothers have rather helplessly to take things as they find them and make the best of them, as they have long had to do in poorly-constructed and finished houses—not a bad training of the wits for bettering school conditions. . . . Mothers have a large measure of responsibility for the bad conditions in so many schools, even when they have not the power to discharge their responsibility effectively. But all are soon to have this power. The signs of the times are unmistakable; and there is no higher law resting on them than this of responsibility for children *wherever children may be in the community*—home or school, street or work place, place of entertainment or of recreation."

Dr. Putnam calls attention to the fact that all the countries where the death rate of young children is especially low are countries where women vote. She says: "This, interpreted, means that where women are clear thinking enough to do their part, and men fair minded enough to share the world's work on equally advantageous terms, child life is safer and humanity better."

This book was but one of Dr. Putnam's many good works in behalf of women and children. To her Providence owed to a large extent its vacation schools and playgrounds. I rank her among Vassar's most distinguished graduates.

While we rejoiced in securing Presidential Suffrage in 1917, many of us hoped for it sooner. Though few really expected this grant from the 1913 Legislature, we never ceased our appeals. The following editorial appearing with the preceding excerpts from the *Woman's Journal* of Nov. 1, 1913, shows how high were our expectations. By this time the desire for Presidential suffrage had gotten into our blood and it was simple poetic justice which made Rhode Island first on the Atlantic coast to receive it.

Had our Legislature been sufficiently alert we would have ante-dated Illinois:

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

Rhode Island women are asking the Legislature to empower them to vote at presidential elections.

When Illinois a few months ago gave women the right to vote for President of the United States, it called nation-wide attention to the possibility of securing this important slice of suffrage by act of Legislature. Most people had supposed that an amendment to the constitution was necessary. Many suffragists, even, were unaware that the power to grant Presidential Suffrage was vested in the State Legislatures by the Constitution of the United States.

The Woman's Journal has for many years called attention to the fact. The late Henry B. Blackwell was unwearied in urging the advantages of this method. Rhode Island suffragists have long been awake to its possibilities, and have been educating their State on the subject. It was a Rhode Island lawyer, the Hon. Edwin C. Pierce, who drew up a list of decisions showing its legality, and his argument has been used ever since, in every State where a Presidential Suffrage Bill has been under consideration. In substance, it is as follows:

By the U. S. Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, the presidential electors from each State must be appointed "in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct." In the early history of the United States, there were several instances in which the State Legislatures, themselves chose the presidential electors. This method was regularly followed in South Carolina up to and including the year 1860.

On several occasions State Legislatures have passed regulations for the presidential election enabling persons to vote who, by the State Constitution, would have been debarred from voting; and the right of the State Legislatures to do this has always been upheld by the courts. Thus the Maine Legislature, on March 24, 1864, passed an act to enable soldiers who were absent in the field to vote for presidential electors; and the next day it submitted an amendment to the State Constitution to enable soldiers absent in the field to vote for State officers. The latter required a constitutional amendment; the former did not. New Hampshire (see Public Laws of 1864) passed a Soldiers' Voting Act for presidential electors, the legality of which was unanimously upheld by the State Supreme Court (45 N. H., p. 607), although the act was in conflict with the State Constitution. The Supreme Court took the ground that the question as to how the presidential electors should be chosen "is governed wholly by the Constitution of the United States as the paramount law, and the Constitution

of this State has no concern with the question." The Vermont Supreme Court gave an opinion to the same effect (37 Vermont Appendix).

The National House of Representatives also upheld the constitutionality of the Michigan Soldiers' Voting Act. More than twenty years ago the Michigan Legislature departed from the custom of having the presidential electors chosen upon a general ticket. It divided the State into electoral districts (and was accused of having gerrymandered it), each district to choose one elector. In Henry M. Field's work on Election Law, the Michigan case is well stated. The U. S. House of Representatives decided that the Michigan Constitution could not govern the matter, as the United States Constitution gave the State Legislature absolute power over it. There are no decisions the other way.

The Rhode Island Legislature has full power to take this action. By doing so it would place Rhode Island in the very forefront of the New England States. Ten States of the Union have given women the ballot already, and year by year the number grows. Even the opponents admit that equal suffrage is surely coming; it is only a question of time. Rhode Island was a leader in granting religious liberty. It would be most appropriate that she should lead New England also in granting political liberty to women.

A. S. B.

I have singled out Woman's Journal Day to lend especial emphasis to the part *The Woman's Journal* played in our work. In the next chapter other important and earlier events of 1913 will be narrated.

CHAPTER XI

STIRRING EVENTS

Turning to my faithful scrapbook I find that the first event of importance for me in 1913 was the suffrage parade on March 3rd, in Washington, arranged by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, the first of whom at this time was Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and President of the Congressional Union. Mother and I went to Washington for the Inauguration of President Wilson; as dyed-in-the-wool Republicans, we were both much more interested in the parade of March 3rd, than that of March 4th. It was at this time I caught my first glimpse of Alice Paul at the headquarters of the Committee on F. Street, where a basement had been opened up by these ardent workers. Alice Paul's slight figure stood swaying at the telephone commanding, pleading, mastering the impossible with a skill seldom given to humans. From that time I anticipated great things from this frail little body. I am sure Inez Haynes Irwin will permit me to borrow her more eloquent description of this remarkable pair of American militants:

"Lucy Burns is as different a type from Alice Paul as one could imagine. She is tall—or at least she seems tall; rounded and muscular; a splendidly vigorous physical specimen. If Alice Paul looks as though she were a Tanagra carved from alabaster, Lucy Burns seems like a figure, heroically sculptured, from marble. She is blue-eyed and fresh-complexioned; dimpled; and her head is burdened, even as Alice Paul's, by an enormous weight of hair. Lucy Burns' hair is a brilliant red; and even as she flashes, it flashes. It is full of sparkle. She is a woman of two-fold ability. She speaks and writes with equal eloquence and elegance. Her speeches before Suffrage bodies, her editorials in the *Suffragist* are models of clearness; conciseness; of accumulative force of expression. Mentally and emotionally, she is quick and warm. Her convictions are all vigorous and I do not think Lucy Burns would hesitate for a moment to suffer torture, to die, for them. She has intellectuality of a high order; but she overruns with a winning Irishness which supplements that intellectuality with grace and charm; a social mobility of extreme sensitiveness and swiftness. In those early days in Washington, with all her uncompromising militantism, Lucy Burns was the diplomat of the pair; the tactful placating force."



Yours, with high hopes
Irene Millwood

I worshipped at the shrine of the classic beauty of Inez Milholland, who mounted upon a noble white horse, led this impressive parade of women from every State in the union. Again I quote with reverence from Mrs. Irwin's *Story of the Woman's Party*. "Inez Milholland was one of the human sacrifices offered on the altar of woman's liberty. She died that other women might be free."

In speaking of the parade later on at a meeting of Miss Althea L. Hall's in Pawtucket, I find myself saying that the "deadliest insult" offered me in that famous procession was "Three cheers for Little Rhody," or "There goes Brown," or "There goes Pawtucket."

My humble part in this great demonstration was to sell *Woman's Journals* and to represent the smallest State in the union in the greatest march ever made by women of this country. My comrade was Judge Allen of Ohio. What if the Washington police did not maintain as orderly a line as for Tammany the next day? Any carelessness on the part of the Police Commission of Washington was fully compensated for by the indignation it aroused in the rest of the country and the added publicity.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt came to Rhode Island in April to talk on the White Slave Traffic. At my request she spoke before an assembly in Manning Hall on their plans for a Woman Suffrage Party in Rhode Island, data in regard to which I had been gathering in New York and Boston for some months. As this organization was to play so fundamental a part in the history of equal suffrage in Rhode Island, I am giving in full the account in the *Providence Journal* of Friday, April 4, 1913. It shows the willing spirit of the women of Rhode Island to hasten their enfranchisement by the latest though most arduous methods:

TAMMANY MAKE-UP PRAISED BY WOMAN

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT TALKS TO COLLEGE SUFFRAGISTS

"NEW YORK MACHINE COPIED"

Resumé of History of Votes for Women Given at Manning Hall,
Brown University.—President Mrs. James W. Algeo Predicts
Success of Movement Here

A resumé of the history of the so-called "Woman Suffrage Party" in New York city, an outline of the reasons for its organiza-

tion and a detailed account of its methods, engaged the attention of the audience that assembled yesterday forenoon at Manning Hall, Brown University, in response to a card sent out by the Rhode Island College Equal Suffrage League announcing that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt would be the guest of the League.

The President, Mrs. James W. Algeo, opened the meeting, and after a brief reference to the strides made by the suffragists, predicted the final winning of the franchise in Rhode Island. She said those to whom the cause was dear desired that the women of the State should be prepared for the duties which the concession would involve, and that to this end it was believed a more complete organization of forces was needed. She told something of what had already been done throughout the State, adding her belief that organization would result in the better development that should come before the votes were granted to women. To this end she said she had asked Mrs. Catt, who centralized the efforts of the different clubs in New York city into the Woman Suffrage Party, to tell something of that organization, whose membership has already reached 80,000.

TAMMANY ORGANIZATION

Mrs. Catt said that as it was to be a conference she wished it to be very informal, and that no one need hesitate to interrupt with questions. She, however, was so explicit in the details respecting the methods employed that she left little opportunity for questions.

She then referred to the two ways possible to secure the franchise, the usual one of submitting the question to the popular vote, and the other by an amendment to the Constitution, adding facts relative to the latter which seemed to indicate that what had heretofore been considered improbable, if not impossible, might after all come to pass. She gave clear directions as to what Rhode Island women could do to help.

"If we are to win," she said, "we have to work, and work hard."

She paid tribute to the results obtained by the Tammany organization, adding that the Woman Suffrage party was organized on the same lines and made use of the same phraseology.

SHOWS CAREFUL STUDY

She then explained the methods and showed how they might have to be adapted to local needs. In her explanations the speaker showed herself essentially practical and the suggestions for "the kind of work that gets right behind the Assemblyman" showed a careful study of the situation from various viewpoints.

Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott asked about the financial support, and emphasized the need of women's waking up to the need of making personal sacrifices to enable them to contribute to the

support of the cause, adding "If you want the suffrage you've got to pay for it. It's up to us."

Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates also spoke briefly and at the close a committee was appointed to enroll the names of all who were willing to identify themselves with the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage party should it seem best to enter into a formal organization.—*The Providence Journal*, Friday, April 4, 1913.

At a meeting held the following week, Friday, April 11, at 256 Meeting Street, the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party was formed with Mrs. James W. Algeo as general chairman, Mrs. Sarah L. G. Fittz, secretary; Mrs. George W. Parks, treasurer and Mrs. Max Abelson, field organizer. It is a choice historic fact that the first meeting preliminary to the formation of the Party was held on Thursday evening, Jan. 10, 1913, at the Mansion House, the home of Mrs. Elizabeth Monks, 159 Benefit Street; this landmark of Providence was formerly known as the Golden Ball Inn and was the scene of a notable visit from Washington.

It was not a large meeting but we were in nowise discouraged as Mary Garrett Hay had told me the New York Woman Suffrage Party started with eleven. When the *Journal* reporter called up for news we told him the room was "comfortably filled," a safe and truthful reply. If the name Woman Suffrage Party was a million dollar asset, Mrs. Catt's endorsement added a second million. The Suffrage Party inaugurated a series of meetings and teas for the spring and summer at which were numbered among the speakers and hostesses the Misses Bronson, Miss H. A. Thomas, Mrs. Anne Gilbreth Cross, Mrs. Van Everen, Prof. J. C. Dunning, Mr. Claude C. Ball, Mrs. Sara L. Fittz, Miss Mabel Willard and Mrs. Mary Hutchinson Page of Boston. In June, Mrs. Algeo spoke on woman suffrage party methods at a meeting at Oak Glen before a splendid audience of Newport women.

In October I attended a Suffrage school conducted by Mrs. Catt at the Hotel McAlpin in New York. This was the first of the many political schools held throughout the country to train women in their new duties and responsibilities as citizens.

There should be no stock taking account of suffrage progress in Rhode Island in 1913 without mention of the honorable part played by the colored women. Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass have been followed by other lovers of freedom throughout the United States. In Mary E. Jackson, Rhode Island had



Mary E. Jackson

its forward and upward looking descendant of worthy forbears. I find in my scrapbook the eleventh conference of the Rhode Island Union of Colored Women's Clubs, Monday, October 13, 1913, Pond Street Church, Providence, R. I. As one of the speakers I find my own name with the subject "Votes for Women"—Why the Rhode Island Union should endorse the Suffrage movement with open discussion to be led by Bertha Higgins, Providence. The endorsement did take place and, though this statement may be hard to believe, it was the only endorsement received from any large body of women in the State before ratification took place. Our women were timid and fearful of arousing antagonism by introducing a controversial subject into their club business. This action was productive of a series of meetings among the colored women and their support and friendship to the end. Not one of the officers who were serving on this historic occasion should be omitted from the roll of honor:

President, Mary E. Jackson, Providence;
First Vice-President, Mrs. C. Tolbert, Newport;
Second Vice-President, Mrs. Susan Williams, Providence;
Third Vice-President, Mrs. Lillian Williams, Pawtucket;
General Secretary, Mrs. Jacynthia Perry, Providence;
Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Burney, Newport;
Treasurer, Mrs. A. Allerson, Pawtucket;
Organizer, Mrs. W. Worthen, Providence;
Juvenile Superintendent, Miss Ida Gibbons.

At this meeting Mrs. Butler Wilson of Boston, gave a soul-stirring address on other forms of freedom desired by colored people as well as white people. The conference was of so high a tone that it called forth the following editorial in the *Providence Journal*:

RHODE ISLAND COLORED WOMEN

The greater part of the colored people of Rhode Island have a basic social character which springs from the lives and deeds of the members of their race who were here in the days before even the Civil War. The progress and self-helpfulness of all the Rhode Island colored people of to-day is thus due to an inherited interest in social questions and a racial spirit and pride that give decision and action in the development of the race. This is disclosed anew by the conference of the Rhode Island Union of Colored

Women's Clubs. It shows that strong elements of good are at work in the race here and that the energy of its interest in Rhode Island life has not been sapped by modern things. It is pleasant to see these mothers of another racial group reaching out to give their influence wider scope.

In the preceding chapter is related the account of Woman Journal Day on Saturday, November 1, 1913. This was intended to prepare the way for the coming of Mrs. Pankhurst on Friday, November 12th. To us out-door meetings had become quite common as is shown by the following news item somewhat typical of the jocosity which our efforts in this direction received at first. It bears the date Nov. 11, 1913:

AN EMBARRASSMENT OF GOOD THINGS

EMPLOYÉES OF BROWN & SHARPE HAD QUADRUPLE ATTRACTION SHOW THIS NOON

"To hear or not to hear" was the grave question that confronted the employés of the Brown & Sharpe Manufacturing Company this noon. This was but the first question for those who decided to hear, for then the question arose, "Which shall we hear?" Some of the employés took so long to decide the latter question that they didn't hear anything.

Outside the huge plant on Promenade street was presented a scene such as one might see at an annual county fair. There were four attractions, two separate women suffrage organizations, the militant and the conservative, a union organizer and a corn doctor, all using in substance the phrase made famous by Shakespeare in Julius Caesar, "lend me your ears."

There was Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, President of the Rhode Island Woman's Suffrage Association; Mrs. James W. Algeo, Chairman of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage party; an organizer of the Machinists Union and a corn doctor.

Upon the arrival of the suffragettes, who began to talk from an automobile, the men, who were gathered about the union organizer and the "corn fakir" all began to desert them to hear the cry for the "presidential ballot" and what dire things would happen if the women were not given a hand in making the laws of the land.

Not disheartened by the desertion of the crowd, the corn doctor soon picked up his stand and started in pursuit and when next he planted his stand it was close to the auto which contained the women speakers. The voice of the corn plaster man easily drowned those of the fair sex and they decided to let him have his way.

Just previous to this, however, Mrs. James W. Algeo announced that courtesy was one of the first principles of the woman suffrage movement and that she would retire in favor of the unionizer that the men might hear what he had to say.

Both women invited the crowd to the reception and meeting that would be given to Mrs. Pankhurst in Infantry Hall, Friday night.

The return of Mrs. Pankhurst to Rhode Island made deep imprint upon the mind of every believer in woman's freedom. While I have never been a militant; while I never swerved in my



MRS. PANKHURST AT STATION

loyalty to the National American Woman Suffrage Association; while I never even joined the Woman's Party, which adopted these methods in Washington, until long after the passage of the 19th amendment, I have always had intense admiration for the courage and generalship of Mrs. Pankhurst. When she asked me if I believed in militancy I told her promptly not for Rhode Island, at that time, but I felt it was literally none of my business what the English women considered best for themselves. In other words, it

was their business to settle their own affairs, ours to decide for ourselves. Crude and simple language, but it expressed my feelings at this time.

The *Sunday Tribune* gave a complete page to the coming of Mrs. Pankhurst, including the opinions of local suffragists and her speech at the trial on the occasion of her arrest just before coming to America. Space forbids my giving in full her soul-stirring arraignment of the children's laws, the divorce laws and other unjust laws by which the women of England found their physical and moral development curtailed by their political powerlessness. Her closing words show her dauntless purpose:

ONLY JUSTICE

You are not accustomed to deal with people like me in the ordinary discharge of your duties; but you are called upon to deal with people who break the law from selfish motive. I break the law from no selfish motives. I have no personal end to serve, neither have any of the other women who have gone through this court during the past few weeks, like sheep to the slaughter. Not one of these women would, if women were free, be lawbreakers. They are women who seriously believe that the welfare of humanity demands this sacrifice; they believe that the horrible evils which are ravaging our civilization will never be removed until women get the vote. They know that the very fount of life is being poisoned; they know that homes are being destroyed; that because of bad education, because of the unequal standard of morals, even the mothers and children are destroyed by one of the vilest and most horrible diseases that ravages humanity.

There is only one way to put a stop to this agitation. It is not by deporting us. It is not by locking us up in jail. It is only by doing us justice. And so I appeal to you, gentlemen, to give a verdict upon the whole agitation. I ask you to find me not guilty of malicious incitement to a breach of the law.

These are my last words. My incitement is not malicious. If I had power to deal with these things I would say to woman "You have constitutional means of getting redress for your grievances; use your votes; convince your fellow voters of the righteousness of your demands. That is the way to obtain justice."

The views of some of the women on militancy were sought and given:



RHODE ISLAND IS AMAZED WHEN MRS. PANKHURST
COMES TO TOWN

BY ELIZABETH UPHAM YATES

PRESIDENT R. I. WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

"Having been for years a member of the American and World's Peace and Arbitration Societies, and a firm believer that civilized society has outgrown the necessity of resorting to force as a means of advancement, I have, therefore, never been in sympathy with Suffragette methods. However, when Mrs. Pankhurst was in the United States in 1911 I invited her to come to Providence to present her version of the militant movement, it being at that time a question of conspicuous public interest. The favorable impression made by her winsome personality and magnetic eloquence is readily recalled. Since that time, in the opinion of many, the Suffragette tactics have passed from folly to crime. Property has been destroyed and human life endangered by dynamite bombs, incendiarism and other forms of violence. Such destructive and dangerous deeds have caused a great reaction in the ranks of Mrs. Pankhurst's supporters, both in this country and in England. Mr. and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence, at one time the largest financial contributors to the cause, and proprietors of the militant organ, "Votes for Women," have withdrawn their support entirely and have publicly disavowed any further affiliation or sympathy with the militant movement. Thousands of Englishmen and women perfectly conversant with the situation and devoted to the woman's enfranchisement have declared that militant tactics are inimical to the cause, and assert that parliamentary suffrage for women can be won only by such peaceful, constitutional methods as secured municipal suffrage for them. The logical results of militant tactics threaten consequences that may 'stagger humanity.' As Prof. Ward well said: 'Reforms do not emanate from the red end of the social spectrum.' Light rather than heat will win our cause."

WHAT MRS. BARUS THINKS

Mrs. Carl Barus gives the following as her idea on "Pankhurstism:"

"I am wholly out of sympathy with Mrs. Pankhurst's being here in America. Her coming here is not wise. It is unwise for her own purposes. Her presence here may put back suffrage in America because it is impossible to separate Mrs. Pankhurst from her methods. One must admire the woman, however, for her courage and her sincerity.

"If the newspapers had been ready to make as prominent the constitutional efforts of women working for suffrage the Militant

Army in England would never have arisen. The newspapers, however, were ready to print anything sensational and in this way they were ready to bring their cause before the public."

FROM MISS ELEANOR B. GREEN

Miss Eleanor B. Green, the sister of Mr. Theodore Francis Green, and a staunch supporter of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, in expressing an opinion concerning the coming of Mrs. Pankhurst to Providence, said:

"I am sorry that Mrs. Pankhurst is coming to Rhode Island, as I do not consider her a good interpreter of Woman Suffrage, nor a fitting example of a woman who believes in Woman Suffrage. I do not believe in her methods in England, and while I do not believe her coming will injure the cause here, yet I do not think it will advance it."

MRS. SARA M. ALGEO'S VIEW

CHAIRMAN, R. I. WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

"Since my early Boston days, when as a student at the University, one of my best friends among my classmates was Lyra Trueblood, the daughter of the man who is known world-wide as the advocate of peace, I have been a firm believer in arbitration and peaceful methods of settling national and international difficulties. Theoretically that is still my staunch conviction. Whether all countries have reached the stage in their evolution where the literal application of the principles of peace, the just and proper treatment of both sides, can be brought about is another.

"Col. Roosevelt advocates the extension of our Navy to inculcate respect for peace with the United States. His claim is simply that it is wise for all countries to become peace advocates at the same time or it may be unsafe for the one who tries to do it alone. We may not agree with him but history shows the force of his claim and we do not denounce him as a fanatic.

"Practically all of our thinking women in all suffrage camps consider that the cause has reached proportions in the United States where militancy is not only unnecessary but would be very unwise and detrimental in its results. We all know that the wise men of the East are figuring how to fall in line most gracefully with the still wiser men of the West, who saw first that no true democracy can exist without the consent of one-half of the population. The East knows too well that the balance of power now lies with the West and has its eyes wide open to prevent its long remaining there. By reason of the very make-up of our Federal and

State Governments it has become a vast political problem of enormous significance to which there is but the one solution—that of granting 'votes for women.'

"In England the situation is wholly different. There, we have the leader of the Liberal party, who by his very position should be the greatest suffragist of all, holding up by an undemocratic one-man power the whole situation. It is safe to predict that with the resignation of Premier Asquith militancy will die a natural death. Militancy on the part of the English Suffragettes is distasteful, painful and shocking to every one of us. It, in its essence,



is not half so revolting, however, as the spectacle of one portion of the population, a small portion at that, led by a stubborn, unliberal Scotchman, trying to throttle and starve an equally intelligent and much larger portion of the population into subservience and subjection.

"As I stated in the beginning, I am fundamentally an advocate of peace, but if civil war were ever permissible I believe it is per-

missible for the English women at the present time. And now, Mr. Editor, in regard to Mrs. Pankhurst's coming to Providence and what we can get from her coming. The last time, two years ago, when she appeared in our city, we were charmed by her manner, by her eloquence and by her amazing knowledge of the English system of constitutional law. From what I can gather from the papers, Mrs. Pankhurst is now the same attractive personality, endowed with the same indomitable courage, who is honestly convinced that the most effective course in England of securing the vote is by militant tactics, but who has not the slightest intention of dictating to American women whom she considers quite capable of doing their own thinking. She should prove an inspiration to all who have the opportunity to hear her."

But what the lady who had just come from jail herself thought is so much more important than what we in our comfortable homes and placid surroundings could possibly think, that I give her speech in full as reported in the *Evening Bulletin* of Saturday, Nov. 15, 1913:

MRS. PANKHURST SAYS MILITANCY IS FOR LIBERTY

LIKENS FIGHTING WING OF ENGLISH SUFFRAGISTS TO MEN OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION WARRING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, DURING INFANTRY HALL ADDRESS

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, leader of the English militant suffragists, speaking in Infantry Hall last night, told her hearers that the methods being used by her followers to obtain the privileges they desired from the British Government were not as vigorous as those pursued by the American colonists in the Revolution.

"And yet," she remarked gently, "everywhere in New England I go, I find your so-called conservative women condemning in one breath the 'militant suffragettes' and boasting in the next that they are daughters of the American Revolution.

"The underlying principles of the two struggles you will find the same—the seemingly eternal struggle for human liberty and human rights. The only difference is in who does the fighting. It is fashionable for men to fight; it is unusual to see women use force to obtain what is theirs. But the novelty of the sight is wearing off."

Mrs. Pankhurst devoted much of her lecture, which covered nearly two hours, to the suffrage situation in England, but took

occasion at times to refer to conditions in other countries, especially the United States.

She spoke to an audience that made up in appreciation all that it lacked in size, and appeared to make an excellent impression upon her hearers. Of gentle manner and voice, she had not spoken 10 minutes before she had apparently won over an audience that was openly largely sceptical at the beginning.

MEN, SCORED, APPLAUD

A large portion of her address last night was directed at the men, of whom there were many present, and her frequent sallies at what she insisted were purely masculine inconsistencies of reasoning were met on each occasion with hearty applause, to which the male contingent in the audience contributed its share.

Mrs. Pankhurst opened her lecture by referring good-humoredly to the editorial attitude of the greater portion of the American press toward militant methods. "Your leading papers inform the women of the United States that militancy would be out of the way here, that it should never be attempted by 'real ladies' and, finally, that you can get the vote without it. This is indeed delightful to hear. No one wants to be militant that I know of if the vote can be gained without it.

But do not be led astray by sentiment. Men are sentimental, and women are sentimental, and sentiment is often employed by men to check threatened activities of women. It is all right for men to tell you, feelingly, that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world. That is fine for a little while, but you can never get reforms by admitting it. Practical politicians talk sentiment to the voters of their districts as long as sentiment goes down, but when it doesn't they get down to practical methods. Then real reform follows.

"We had more than 50 years of sentiment in England before we got the suffrage cause on to a practical basis. We were allowed to address envelopes and stick stamps during campaigns, and the men told us we were real politicians. They talked platitudes to us when we asked to vote. To-day they don't talk platitudes. Suffrage is on a practical basis now. We have other things to do than to stick stamps for someone else. We are sticking a few for ourselves.

'CHANCE FOR IMPROVEMENT'

"I have been told that your condition here in America is much better than ours. Even in my superficial view of your country, however, in spite of some advances, I have seen legal grievances and I have seen conditions of life which the vote would improve.

"In England the suffrage cause occupies an unique position. You do not hear of militant suffragettes anywhere but in England,

but that method is being and has been used in other countries. In China during the revolution there the women fought side by side with the men until the revolution was won. Then the men set up a government and told the women to go back home. But they didn't. When the first assembly met the women came before it and practically held it up at rifle's point until they were given the ballot. And they got it. That was a pretty good argument for militancy, wasn't it, gentlemen?

"In England in 1867 when the franchise laws were revised, they forgot to put the word 'male' into the law and the women thought they had the vote. But a man judge saved the country for the men by ruling that a woman was not a person, and for that reason was ineligible to vote. Yet women are persons when it comes to paying an income tax. Our fight in England is to have it recognized that we are persons, that we are human beings.

"I would like to carry you back to the days when your forefathers were taxed without representation by a government in London. They did some very serious things. Human liberty and tea were involved in your Boston tea party. They destroyed the tea. They said human rights were of more value than tea. The militant suffragettes in England say the same, only it doesn't chance to be tea that they are throwing overboard.

"We militants in England are going to kill no one, unless it be ourselves. Your forefathers did more than that. And yet everywhere in New England I go, I find your so-called conservative women condemning in one breath the 'militant suffragettes' and boasting in the next that they are daughters of the American Revolution.

'EDUCATE' GOVERNMENT

"Had these women lived in the days of their forefathers would they have counselled their men to 'educate' the British Government to get what they wanted? That is what they are telling us to do. It is too bad their forefathers could not have consulted the respectable conservatism of their descendants. If they could have, the British Government might have been nearly 'educated' by this time about the tax on tea.

"You men, what would you do if the Legislatures were made up of women, if the offices of the country were filled by women? Suppose this were true, and you had no right to vote. Suppose you were hauled up before a woman magistrate and then hustled off by women guards to jail for a longer term than would be given a woman for the same charge.

"What would you do? You would remonstrate for a time. Then suppose the women told you that there was something different about you, that you weren't able to understand things, that you shouldn't try to. What would you do? Try to show

them that you did? That is what we are doing. There is not a law that you do not expect women to obey; not a tax that you do not expect them to pay; and you laugh if some of them tell you that is slavery.

"There is an uprising in Ulster now against the Irish Home Rule bill. Sir Edward Carson is leading it. He has already made speeches that would send a woman into penal servitude if she uttered them. He has told men to arm themselves for revolution, has selected a provisional government, has assigned a General to the army he has gathered. He is not molested. This is not militancy, because, you see, there is something different about men. They understand, a woman doesn't.

"A few days ago in Chicago a group of schoolboys broke every window in an electric car. 'Boys will be boys,' every one said, and that was all. Still, when women do this you are shocked and cry 'militancy.' When women fight for men they are heroines; when they fight for themselves they are unconstitutional.

"To you women of America I say: If you can get justice by reason and persuasion, get it that way. If you cannot, get it some other way. As men have the inalienable right to rebellion, so have the women. To the men I say: You have a grand opportunity here. Grasp it. Do not drive your women to militancy."

Writing of Mrs. Pankhurst incites very tender memories. With her high courage, her quiet enthusiasm, her steadfast purpose and keen logic she was one of the finest speakers I have ever heard. Yet her eloquence, in her own estimation, in no degree measured up to that of Dr. Shaw. "She is the greatest orator in the world, barring none," she said simply when we referred to Dr. Shaw.

When in our home on the 7th of December, 1911, Mrs. Pankhurst wrote in my guest-book:

"May the women of Providence soon win the vote."

The second time on November 15, 1913, she inscribed the words:

"Let American women remember the burning of the Gaspee and the tea party in Boston Harbor! Oh, Liberty, thou choicest treasure!"

Rheta Childe Dorr, ardent feminist accompanied Mrs. Pankhurst on this visit to Providence.

In the closing days of 1913, November 29th—December 5th, a group of Rhode Island women slipped down to Washington to attend the National American Convention. It was at this Convention that the definite break took place between the Woman's Party, then called the Congressional Union and the National Association. Miss Paul as Chairman reported for the Con-



gressional Committee of the National and also for the Congressional Union, which she and others had built up in connection with their strenuous work in Washington. Her report of parades, pilgrimages, deputations, campaigning in the States, press work, theater meetings, was simply stupendous. Mrs. Belmont asked permission to move that the headquarters be transferred to Washington, but her request was given small consideration and she returned to New York much dissatisfied. As an impartial onlooker with great respect for both sides I am sorry that the differences were not arbitrated then and there as they but increased with time. To me it seemed another illustration of the difficulty of properly dove-tailing the differing psychologies of two generations. The National lost a powerful dynamic force in Mrs. Belmont, Alice Paul and their cohorts and in turn this young and virile group missed their opportunity to share in the beauty and sequence of a movement consecrated by time and the golden heritage of women's prayers and sacrifice. And yet fate may have destined from the first that here again my favorite doctrine of "wholesome competition" was to play an important part in hastening the victory.

Two other phases of this Convention impressed me: first, the prominence given to women workers of whom Rose Winslow proved the most appealing; second, the hearing before the Committee on Rules in the House where Jane Addams was treated so disrespectfully by the picayune members of this body. Dr. Shaw presided and Mrs. Helen H. Gardner, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, Mrs. Desha Breckinridge and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt were the other speakers. My feelings were as much disturbed by the flippant way this group of men received this fine body of women as those of any honorable group of men would be at the vulgar hissing of a prominent executive like President Taft. To me it seems extremely vulgar for persons having a bit of transient authority to abuse it in this manner.

The year 1913 closed with a three days sale, December 16, 17, and 18, at the Narragansett Hotel, at which the principal workers were: Mrs. Gerald A. Cooper, Miss Helen Emerson, Miss Mary E. Jackson, Mrs. George F. Rooke, Mrs. M. W. Sayles, Mrs. Jack Lord, Miss Jeannette Rosenfeld, Mrs. Kempshal, Mrs. Edwin C. Smith, Miss Althea L. Hall, Mrs. Esther Gladding, Mrs. George Preston Brown, Miss Cassie Cronin, Mrs.

Arthur C. Miller, Miss Mary M. Angell, Miss Helen Thomas, Miss Anna Brown, Miss Gertrude Lawson, Miss Edith Blair, Miss Jessie Cole, Mrs. John W. North, Mrs. John H. Davidson, Mrs. Harry Towne, Miss Nettie Bauer, Miss Joanna Barron, Mrs. Fred C. Perry, Mrs. George W. Parks, Miss Parks, Mrs. Georgia

*The Rounding Up for the Woman Suffrage Party
Banquet*



Fries, Mrs. Max Abelson, Miss Margarethe L. Dwight and Mrs. Carroll Miller. Among the speakers were Mrs. Carl Barus, Mrs. Mary E. S. Root and Julia Williamson of Philadelphia as Peter Pan in stories for children; Maude Gould Thomas gave a

variety of dances; Mrs. Camillo Von Klenze and George W. Parks also spoke.

In 1914 a series of lectures on the Modern Women of various countries was given by the State association which called out large audiences. The most notable event in January was the coming of Senator Moses E. Clapp as the principal speaker at the Woman Suffrage Party banquet at the Narragansett Hotel. The Senator, known far and wide as the Black Eagle of the Northwest, was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Marsden J. Perry, both of whom now began to show interest in suffrage. At the time of this dinner, Alice Paul came to Providence to confer about a big celebration on May 2. Shortly after this Suffrage Party leaders are found addressing theatre meetings in local centres, breathing out threatenings against recalcitrant legislators. The idea of campaigning against our most pronounced enemies had been in our minds since Margaret Foley's successful demolition of Greenwood. I find the *Providence Tribune* of Jan. 25, 1914, asserting with some positiveness "Woman Suffragists to Kill off Legislators;" "Local Suffrage Party is on the Trail of Arthur P. Sumner, Jacob A. Eaton and other Politicians." Election did not come until the fall so these glaring headlines were but in the nature of a prophecy.

That the goal of our ambition, the passing of a Presidential Suffrage bill, never slumbered nor slept is brought clearly before us in the following letter:

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE BILL

To the Editor of *The Sunday Tribune*:

May I, through your columns, answer the query which is coming into the woman suffrage party office daily, or, in fact, almost hourly, in regard to the present stage of our Presidential Suffrage bill, giving women the right to vote for President of the United States?

This bill was entered in the Senate by Hon. Philip Wilbourn in the early part of the session and at the same time it was presented to the House by Judge Hamill of Bristol. In both cases it was referred to the judiciary committees of both bodies.

Now, with the session more than half over what, our friends are asking, has been accomplished? In the first place a careful and intensive study has been made of the members of both houses. A sufficiently thorough canvas has been made to prove that the Suffrage bill has a large number of supporters in both houses.

Our so-called "bosses" have been interviewed and they have expressed themselves almost unanimously in favor of a fair hearing and discussion on the merits of the bill in House and Senate. A large number of resolutions and letters have been sent in to legislators asking simply that the bill be given fair play. The judiciary committee of the Senate has been showered with letters begging that the bill be not smothered in committee, but put before the Senate with or without recommendation.

This committee, consisting of Senators Bennett, Munroe, Dixon, Beeckman, Gorton, Arnold and Andrews, are divided in their opinions on the suffrage question. This division is but natural considering the varied influences brought to bear upon them as individuals, but there should be no division upon the necessity of treating so important an issue with the justice and dignity it deserves by bringing it before the Senate. Men who refuse to do this simply invite to themselves the blame which should attach to the whole opposition and they should not be surprised if they find the party which has been treated in this unstatesmanlike manner stumping the State against their re-election next fall.

Rhode Island women mean business and they mean it emphatically. At a time when there are nearly four million women exercising the privilege for which we beg and practically every other State is in a seething campaign it is too late to smother our suffrage bills in their infancy.

At the present time then in answer to the questions of our suffrage friends the bill lies dormant in the hands of the judiciary committee. Shall it remain there?

SARA M. ALGEO,

General Chairman, Woman Suffrage Party.

PROVIDENCE, March 3.

In the *Tribune* of Tuesday, February 10, 1914, I find in striking headlines "Woman Suffragists Invade State House" and how Senator Dixon's own daughters and Senator Colt's daughter-in-law, Maud Howe Elliott, Miss Mary B. Anthony, Mrs. Carl Barus, Mrs. Carroll Miller, Miss Yates, Miss Cora Mitchell, Miss Nettie Bauer, Mrs. Eugene Sturtevant of Newport, and Mrs. Fred L. Dunbar of Bristol "buttonholed" the State Solons. The Senators generously permitted the ladies to have their pictures taken with some of their august body on the State House steps. It was very cold and Mrs. Le Baron Carleton Colt graciously lent me the use of her beautiful sealskin coat, an act which forever

endeared to me this charming leader of the Bristol forces with whom I had many a suffrage spree in later days. She and her husband were in a position to render great assistance to the cause of woman's suffrage, both on their own account and through their uncle, Samuel P. Colt and Mr. Colt's father, Senator Le Baron B. Colt.

"Barry" Colt was one of the most popular men in Bristol and lent himself to the suffrage cause when it needed his moral and financial support most. His beautiful home in Bristol was always



SENATORS AND SUFFRAGISTS ON STATE HOUSE STEPS

open and has been the scene of many a distinguished gathering. After this hearing before the Senate Committee the anti-suffragists had their hearing, presenting the following arguments, which may seem a trifle old-fashioned to the women voters of 1925, and may bring a smile to the lips of suffragists now, though we felt far from being in a smiling mood just then.

From the *Providence Journal*, Saturday, February 14, 1914:

ONLY WOMEN FIGHT BILL FOR SUFFRAGE

MEN MISSING AT HEARING ON ACT PENDING BEFORE
ASSEMBLY

"ANTI" LEAGUE REPRESENTED

Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard and Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt,
Leading Delegation of Nine, Say Granting of Vote for
Presidential Electors Would be Imposition

Not a man offered to say a single word against women in Rhode Island having a right to vote for presidential electors, as provided in a bill now before the Legislature, at the hearing given yesterday afternoon at the State House by the Senate committee on judiciary.

The Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, however, was represented by a delegation of nine women. Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard and Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt spoke in behalf of the delegation. Those present at the hearing were Mrs. G. Alder Blumer, Mrs. Rowland G. Hazard, Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt, Mrs. Albert Harkness, Mrs. Henry R. Fowler, Mrs. M. I. Merrill, Mrs. Herbert E. Maine, Mrs. W. B. M. Miller and Miss Alice W. Adams.

Senator Oscar A. Bennett, chairman of the judiciary committee, opened the hearing and invited anyone interested to talk.

Mrs. Hazard was the first speaker. She said:

"We are not here to conduct a 'buttonhole lobby,' or to cajole or threaten legislators. We are here simply and solely to protest against the imposition of the presidential franchise upon the women of Rhode Island. If it is granted by you, it will be an imposition. It will not be the choice of the men of Rhode Island, nor will it be done at the request of the women of the State.

"The Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has more than 1,700 women enrolled as definitely opposed to woman suffrage. Can Rhode Island suffragists show a larger organization?

"Has any reason for this change been advanced except that some women want it and it is an experiment? It is claimed that you have the opportunity to put conservative Rhode Island in the van of progress. In the opinion of many, if you yield to this demand, you will make her a laughing stock to the nation.

"On what ground have you been asked for this complimentary suffrage? For giving women the presidential franchise would be merely by way of compliment to suffragists, or, more truly, a sop to keep them quiet. It will not give women the power to

regulate the liquor traffic, pure food, clean streets or the social evil. It will accomplish none of the ends for which equal suffrage is demanded.

CHARGES INJUSTICE

"The present Assembly will have favored the woman suffrage party at the cost of an injustice to the rest of the women of Rhode Island, for the imposition of any franchise upon a body of protesting citizens, without considering their wishes, is an injustice such as Rhode Island men have never heretofore contemplated.

"The men of Rhode Island have been generous in the past in protecting us by legal privileges and exemptions. For generations we have enjoyed the benefits of our government, and been free from its burdens. We ask only elementary justice in begging that this exemption be not withdrawn at the request of a few.

"There is no humiliation in our present position, willingly accepted. There is much humiliation to intelligent, patriotic women in feeling that their status is made a political shuttlecock; that they are not to be consulted as to how they shall serve the State, and that their real service to society and their country is belittled and set at naught.

"The request of free women, intelligent and patriotic citizens, who are faithfully performing their share of the world's work, is not to be lightly brushed aside."

Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt was the second speaker. She said: "Representing those steadfastly opposed to the ballot for women in Rhode Island, I urge upon you gentlemen a recognition of my rights, and with mine, a majority of the women in the State. I know as well as you that the ballot is not a right.

"Originating as an expedient mode of government, it has come, in these days of multifarious, complicated and involved questions of world-wide import to be an onerous duty from which a majority of women beg to be spared. The right of a majority to be recognized, is, however, inherent, and should not be lightly ignored.

"We women of the opposition cannot make you rosy predictions, nor build gorgeous air-castles. We cling to the grey rock of facts, and these facts are hard things. We can prove that suffrage has not checked the liquor traffic. Woman suffrage has not served to protect women and young girls. Utah, the stronghold of woman's degradation, has had suffrage since 1869. Suffrage States do not show more favorable laws for women and children.

LAUDS MEN'S LAWS

"Thanks to man-made laws, many of them inspired by women, which is just the division of the subject we anti-suffragists advocate, we are, on the whole, better safeguarded in Rhode Island, New York and Massachusetts than in Utah, Wyoming and Colorado.

"We claim a majority for our side. It is impossible to give figures which are not tabulated. We refer, however, to the dwindling vote where women are tired of their new toy, to the eagerness with which women enrolled on the anti side (our own organization enrolling 1,200 names in 12 days at the Food Fair last year). And also it seems to us a significant fact that the suffragists have refused to abide by the decision of a referendum confined to women.

"In Chicago, where women are registering for their first vote, 173,000 registered out of a population of 650,000 of voting age. Of course these figures do not take into account the un-naturalized foreigners.

"It is this foreign element wherein lies one great objection to this bill before you. I ask you gentlemen to walk up Constitution Hill, out over Charles street, over Federal Hill and Atwells avenue, through Fox Point or to the city dock, and watch the passengers from a Fabre Line steamer, and then ask yourselves if you believe the addition of these 'women citizens' will tend to reform and elevate the electorate of the State, or register the intelligent will of the people. Every one of these women is a possible voter, to be reckoned with in some part of the United States, and very many of them right now in Providence.

"There is one aspect to this question which is generally kept in the background here, though openly avowed in England, and gradually showing its ugly proportions in this country as the time seems right. I mean the socialistic side. Every socialist is a woman suffragist, though every suffragist does not acknowledge that he or she is a socialist. Some there are, however, who already openly avow their belief.

"We appreciate your fairness in giving us the same privilege you, involuntarily perhaps, accorded the other side. We would have spared you had they allowed us to, but we have the courage of our convictions, and stand ready to come to their defence. To epitomize the attitude of the anti-suffragists in a parody of a swinging old rhyme,

" 'We don't want to fight,
But, by jingo, if we do,
We've got the grit, we've got the brains,
We've got the women too.' "

Senator Munroe asked Mrs. Lippitt, when she had completed, if she would be willing to stand by the result of a referendum vote among the women on the question, and she replied that she would.

CHAPTER XII

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" WEEK

Our work continued with unabated vigor. Miss Amy Grant spoke on February 10th, 1914, to a large audience in Manning Hall, with Miss Mary B. Anthony presiding. Her opening remarks show the spirit of the times: "Woman suffrage is bound to come in time, so why not help it along and prevent women from adopting methods of attack which they themselves look upon with distaste?" The remarks of Miss Grant, well-known as a skillful musician, in their turn define so well what the general run of suffragists were thinking at this time that I am giving the report of her speech entire as it appeared in the *Providence Journal* of Tuesday, February 21st, 1914:

Miss Grant said in part:

"Yes, woman, at last aroused, demands not ease, but difficulty and the privilege of working; not work which is determined for her, but work which she chooses as a man chooses.

"But, first of all, she is demanding her share in the regulation of the society in which she lives, for since she is willing to bear her share in the work of the world her political rights follow as a matter of course.

PREJUDICE DISPELLED

"The great victory has been won—the breaking down of prejudice and of all antiquated ideas as to what is fine and ladylike and charming for a woman to do. Women are going forth armed with the consciousness of the truth and righteousness of their cause. They fear nothing—social ostracism, imprisonment, starvation, death are all one to them."

Of the conscientious and intelligent opposition coming from people of education and position, who are opposing the movement through sincere conviction, the speaker said: "It is a very great loss to the forward movement that such delightful people are left out and that such good effort is being wasted."

Of the others who are fighting suffrage for less altruistic reasons, she said: "It is well known that every vicious interest in the country is pouring out its money in opposing woman suffrage with all its might. It is stated by men in the suffrage States, who have watched the polls, that the vicious and criminal vote is cast solidly against woman suffrage."

Miss Grant described the organization and work of the Woman Suffrage Party which maintains a strictly non-partisan attitude in all its political relations.

"The party slogan is 'Organized to Win' and this determination is now keenly felt by every politician in New York. They know that if the women have any work to accomplish they have the thorough and close organization to carry it effectively to a finish," she said.

SANER SEX RELATIONSHIP

She told of the saner and more wholesome relation between the sexes, of the placing of love on a surer and firmer basis, which would result, if women were granted the vote and allowed to become the true co-workers of men. She refuted the charge that the entrance of women into politics would tend to infuse the emotional element into our governmental fabric.

Miss Grant closed her address with the reading of "A Ballad of Woman," a suffrage poem, by Richard Le Gallienne.

Mrs. Emma Elizabeth Brickell, an active worker at this stage in the work, arranged many meetings in Pawtucket, Central Falls, the Pawtuxet Valley and Providence. Afterwards she became Mrs. Harris Fowler of Pawtucket and her interests were directed elsewhere, but the memory of her pluck and initiative during this period of stress is gratefully remembered. The College Equal Suffrage League was busy as is indicated by the following clipping from the *Journal*:

PERSONAL AND SOCIAL

College graduates throughout the State were guests at a meeting of the Rhode Island College Equal Suffrage League, held yesterday afternoon at the home of Mrs. Carroll Miller on Bowen street.

After a brief resumé of the work of the league by the President, Miss Helen Emerson, Mrs. Camillo von Klenze spoke on "The Duty of College Women in Regard to Suffrage," and Mrs. Carl Barus on "The Work of the College League and What it Has Stood for in the Suffrage States."

After the address tea and chocolate were served by Mrs. Livingston Ham, Mrs. Gustav Radeke, Miss Eleanor B. Green, Mrs. Lowell Emerson, Mrs. Charles B. Rockwell and Mrs. Augustus M. Lord.

The decorations in the suffrage colors, yellow and white, were carried out in daffodils and jonquils, the gift of friends.

It was announced yesterday that Miss Vida Sutton, a graduate of Chicago University and at one time a member of the Little Theatre Company, who has been in Europe studying in the woman movement, will lecture under the auspices of the College Equal Suffrage League in Froebel Hall on March 17 on "Feminism: What it is and What it is Not."

From the newspaper point of view at least, a vivid interest attaches to the person who is first to do a thing. Though we would like to have had the honor go to a Rhode Island woman of being the first to address a legislative body in our State, it belongs to Miss Emily K. Perry of the Congressional Union of Washington, according to the *Evening Times*, Pawtucket, R. I., Wednesday, March 18, 1914:

SENATE HEARS FIRST SUFFRAGETTE SPEECH

MISS PERRY OF WASHINGTON, IN ADDRESSING RHODE ISLAND BODY, ASSURES LAWMAKERS THERE IS NO DANGER OF MILITANCY HERE

(By Staff Correspondent)

STATE HOUSE, Providence, March 18.—The entirely new and extremely novel sight of a suffragette addressing the members of the Senate in the Senate chamber was witnessed today, when Emily K. Perry of National Woman's Suffrage party, Washington, gave a short speech on granting suffrage to women. Several distinguished visitors were present with Gov. Pothier and an informal reception held by the members of the Senate to his excellency, Dr. Shasuke Sato, national exchange lecturer of Japan, and Prof. Courtney Bigelow of New York, the other guests who were called upon to speak.

"All American men are fair-minded and chivalrous and therefore there will be no militant suffragettes in this country," said Miss Perry in the course of her remarks. She expressed confidence in the members of the State Legislature, saying that she knew that they would act fairly in consideration of the bill granting women suffrage when the measure was reported from its committee.

Lieut.-Gov. Burchard called the Senate to order at 12:37 and the reading of the minutes of yesterday's session was dispensed with on the motion of Senator Hartford of Warwick. Mr. Burchard then made a few remarks, explaining that the Governor did not wish to make any speech and he then introduced Dr. Shasuke Sato. The lecturer said that he was very thankful for having the pleasure of addressing the Senate. He explained his mission to

this country by saying that he was sent here to give lectures in the different universities.

Prof. Bigelow was then introduced by Mr. Burchard, who informed the Senate that the professor and himself had attended the same school in their boyhood. Prof. Bigelow proved to be very witty. In his remarks he well repaid Lieut.-Gov. Burchard, who had chaffed him to a certain extent. The professor expressed a fear of what the Democrats would do to Mr. Burchard now that he was taking a hand in guiding the ship of state. He also referred to Japan, comparing the spirit of courage, both moral and physical, characteristic of the people of that country, with the indomitable spirit of the Irish.

During his talk Mr. Bigelow stated there were no suffragettes in Rhode Island, and Lieut.-Gov. Burchard decided that to treat the suffragettes fairly they should be given a chance to speak and show that they were in Rhode Island. Miss Perry was then called upon. She responded with a brief speech on the question of granting suffrage to women.

She said in part: "In the work for woman's suffrage there is no need for antagonizing men against women. All that we want is that men treat us fairly and as human beings. We know that you will consider the bill now before this General Assembly with fairness. All American men are fair-minded and chivalrous and therefore there is no reason to fear militancy from the suffragettes of this country. We want to be treated like human beings and to have a voice in the making of laws. The lieutenant-governor made the statement that we do not like to be called suffragettes—well, I for one do not mind. The difference between suffragist and suffragette is this: A suffragist is a woman with a wishbone and a suffragette is a woman with a wishbone and a backbone."

In consideration of the size and weight of the labor vote in Rhode Island, the following item indicating progress should not be omitted:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL IS INDORSED

STATE BRANCH, A. F. OF L., TO SEND ASSEMBLY PETITION

HAS QUARTERLY CONVENTION

Goes on Record by Overwhelming Vote as Favoring Measure Now
Before Legislature.—Approves Plan to Increase Locals' Per
Capita Tax

After a brief debate, the Rhode Island State Branch of the American Federation of Labor, at its quarterly convention here yesterday, put itself on record by a vote of more than 8 to 1 as

favoring the passage by the General Assembly of the presidential woman suffrage bill now pending before that body.

Previous to taking the vote on the measure, the convention was addressed by Mrs. James W. Algeo, President of the Woman Suffrage Party, who spoke briefly on the suffrage bill and urged the branch to petition the Assembly for its passage. The vote indorsing the bill came on a motion to sign such a petition, and resulted 85 for to but 6 against—*The Providence Journal*, Monday, March 9, 1914.

Labor is a strong ally and suffragists were well pleased to have its local endorsement added to the national sanction.

Just about this time we heard of the National's plans for Woman's Independence Day, May 2nd, which in our zeal we amplified into a Woman's Independence Week. No wonder I contracted a bad cold and as Dr. Putnam said might have almost anything from typhoid to pneumonia if I did not call a halt:

"WOMAN'S INDEPENDENCE DAY" SUGGESTED TO WILSON

ASSOCIATION PROPOSES EVENT ON FIRST SATURDAY IN MAY

New York, March 19.—The National Woman Suffrage Association has appealed to President Wilson to establish the first Saturday in May of each year as "Woman's Independence Day." On behalf of the executive board of the association, President Anna Howard Shaw has addressed to President Wilson a letter, in part as follows:

"Amendments to State constitutions granting suffrage to women in at least five States will be voted upon at the same election, and in six or more additional States in 1915, while in every State demands are being made upon the National Congress to so amend the National Constitution as to forbid the States from disfranchising United States citizens on account of sex.

"Recognizing that the cause of woman suffrage is no longer an academic problem, but that it has entered the field of practical politics, and that its speedy solution is of vital importance to the country, the National Woman Suffrage Association has set apart the first Saturday of May for a great public demonstration throughout the nation, for the purpose of setting forth the just claims of women to political freedom.

"In this spirit of loyalty to a true democracy, Mr. President, the executive board of the National Suffrage Association appeals to you in your official capacity as President to set apart the first Saturday in May, to be known as "Woman's Independence Day,"

in recognition of the loyalty of American women to the spirit and claims of 1776, that the foundation of all just Governments rests upon the consent of the governed."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" WEEK IN MAY

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY HAS PREPARED ELABORATE PROGRAMME OF OBSERVANCE

The Woman Suffrage party is arranging plans for the demonstration to be held May 2. Rhode Island women, not being content with merely one day, are going to have a "Votes for Women" week.

Sunday, May 3, clergymen of all denominations throughout the State will be asked to preach upon some aspect of the woman movement. Monday preparatory meetings will be held in the districts and towns. Tuesday will be newspaper day. Wednesday will be theatre day and moving picture day. This promises to be very successful, as the manager of the Providence Opera House has offered his theatre. Thursday will be woman's journal day. Friday will be given to May day parties, when restaurants and hotels will be asked to make mention of "Votes for Women" on their bills of fare and throughout the State breakfasts will take the form of "Votes for Women" celebrations. Saturday an enormous demonstration will be held at Roger Williams Park, when the children will participate in the forenoon and speakers of national renown will be present in the afternoon.

It was during the month of March that we began speaking in the theatres between the regular acts and pictures pushing our incessant demand for the Presidential suffrage bill; also for the first time, if memory serves me right, the stores began to lend themselves for publicity purposes. The New Idea Store of Pawtucket was destined to head the list of stores opening their doors to the suffragists. For two weeks we kept Open House. A portion of the programme indicates our mode of procedure:

Tea was served at the suffrage headquarters on the sixth floor of Shartenberg & Robinson's store. Mrs. Livingston Ham was in charge of the tea table and assisting her to serve were Miss Lucy Davison, Mrs. Emma Elizabeth Brickell, Mrs. Sara Algeo, Mrs. George Matteson, of Providence. The same programme of meetings that were conducted yesterday in an endeavor to interest the people in their movement will be continued for a week.

The programme for the remainder of the week follows:

March 17—3:30 p. m., Mrs. George F. Rooke, president R. I. W. C. T. U.

March 18—3:30 p. m., Miss M. E. Orgleman of Bristol.

March 19—3:30 p. m., Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, president R. I. W. S. Association.

March 19—8 p. m., Mrs. Carl Barus of Providence.

March 20—3:30 p. m., Miss Marion B. Hanford of Boston.

March 21—3:30 p. m., Miss Althea L. Hall of Pawtucket.

March 21—8 p. m., Mrs. Camillo von Klenze.

Tea will be served every afternoon. The afternoon meetings will begin at 3:30 and the evening meetings at 8. Miss Vida Sutton, formerly of the Little Theatre Company, will give monologues in Slater Hall, Friday, March 20, at 8.

Other stores have since welcomed us with cordial good will; notably the Outlet Company, where we have held weekly citizenship courses for nearly five years, but to Mr. Shartenburg belongs the brand new idea. To Pawtucket workers, notably Miss Althea L. Hall and Mrs. Fowler, belongs the credit of the execution of the idea.

The Republican machine higher up said "Nay, nay, not yet" to the State bosses and the State bosses said "Nay, nay" to the men on the hill, so our bill was killed by the Legislature of 1914. Their last chance of real honor and glory slipped from their unwilling fingers for most of them by this time would have liked to have granted us this boon and forestalled the most militant act committed by Rhode Island suffragists, the campaign against certain members of the Republican Party. It brings no credit to a man or Party to have the women of his state hot upon his trail.

With the willingness to coöperate which characterized our citizens, especially when special "weeks" were in their incipency, Rhode Island and, more especially, Providence, helped us in its celebration. The clergymen responded beautifully. Dr. Gaius Glenn Atkins of the Central Congregational Church, to which I have belonged for many years preached so good a sermon that we considered it worthy of printing for use as a campaign document. A little incident lies behind that sermon. A short time before I was coming home from a suffrage meeting at Casino Hall, Randall Square, dragged-out and forlorn after a run-in with our old adversary, Jacob Eaton. It was 11:30 P. M. I was cold and tired, pulling one foot after the other,—every old suffragist will understand,—when I met Dr. Atkins near Diman Place. He told me

afterward if it meant so much to women like me it should mean more to ministers like him. I love the naïve masculinity of this sermon written in majestic prose second only to that of President Faunce. It is typical of a number preached in Rhode Island on this occasion, many of which appeared in the *Journal* next morning.

THE RIGHT AND WRONG OF FEMINISM

GAIUS GLENN ATKINS

We are to consider this morning a movement so generally in evidence that thoughtful people can no longer ignore it and so far reaching in some of its proposals that the Church to which no great human interests are alien may well test it by her own profound standards of religion and morality. We call it Feminism and under Feminism include all those demands and protests and questionings with which women confront their long-established position in the world. Beyond so general a definition Feminism is not easy to define. It expresses itself in manifold fashions, but it is on the whole the endeavor of a great body of women to re-establish themselves in our present day political, moral, industrial and social order. Those women who do not agree to its programme are opposing it with growing intensity. It is then a movement into which women of every shade of opinion are being increasingly drawn.

Most of us have long thought of women as temperamentally conservative, docily accepting a status deeply established at once in tradition and the nature of things. And now they are up in arms all about us, knocking at every door, questioning age old inheritances, elbowing aside conventions and even making martyrs of themselves in ways which seem to the masculine mind out of all proportion to what they are willing to starve themselves to death for. If the average American husband or father were to propose a text for this textless homily he would probably go to Luke 24, 22: "Certain women also made us astonished."

No wonder we are more or less perplexed. We are used to embattled farmers and workmen, and embattled employers and embattled employés, and embattled political opponents, but when we are called upon to confront embattled wives and mothers and sisters and daughters—we whose consciences are really quite clear, who have never thought of ourselves as arbitrary or unreasonable in our attitude toward women, but who rather are willing to do anything for them we can, give them anything we can afford, and some things we can't are inclined to dismiss the whole matter far too lightly and to laugh them out of the court. But just as

we are about to do this we are met by a note of intensity, an unexpected persistency or even a kind of hysterical fierceness which gives us pause. We are brought up by a round turn and suddenly sobered by the growing sense that just here where we least expected it we are face to face with the same passion for freedom and personality, variously expressed, which has been rewriting the history of the world ever since the Reformation, which has been the point of departure for battles and revolutions and which once in action has never given over until its goals have been attained. Like every revolutionary thing Feminism is both a revolt and a quest; a protest against the established order, a demand for changed conditions. Against what are women revolting and how far is their revolt justified? What is it they are seeking, how far ought society as a whole to help them to secure it?

Feminism is probably at bottom the demand of women for a personal place in the world. They feel that this has been too long a man's world; that laws, institutions and ideals, and even systems of morality, have as far as they have concerned women been shaped by the man's point of view, and that so women have been treated as possessions or appendages or dependents or rare creatures of another world but not as ordinary human beings with rights, possibilities and personalities of their own. This is what they are seeking, sometimes blindly, sometimes with clear vision, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly—just like the rest of us in our quests.

First, they are in revolt against their inherited position in the political order and are demanding a very much fuller and more direct participation in the conduct of the state. Second, they are in revolt against their inherited position in the economic and social order and are demanding new economic liberty. Third, a good many of them are in revolt against their inherited status in the domestic order and are proposing far reaching modifications of the home and family itself. Fourth, it seems to some of us that some of them are in revolt against the very fact of their womanhood and are demanding the extinction of the differences between masculine and feminine nature. Let us consider these one by one.

Democracy as Abraham Lincoln defined it is the mightiest political force in the world today. It has been in action ever since the American and French revolutions. It has seemed to multitudes of men the very rising light of the power of God; the dawn of a new and perfect day. It has called them across land and sea and has rewritten history. It has seemed to others a political disaster, something to be defeated if possible, but at any rate always to be challenged and heckled. In its practical outcome it has wholly justified neither the enthusiastic hopes of its friends nor the black fears of its foes. But the sweep of it has been unhindered, the rising tide of it unchecked; it was never mightier than it is today.

Now the right to the ballot has brought to all sorts and conditions of people a sense of participation in this mighty, sweeping human tide which nothing else could bring them. The extension of the ballot has meant the extension of democracy; the employment of the ballot has been the vehicle of its advance. Of course behind the ballot is public opinion, but the ballot in a democracy makes public opinion effective. Those who possess it have to be reckoned with even by Czars, Kaisers and political bosses. Those to whom it is denied are left more or less helpless in our modern world; they are dependent upon the favor or charity of others and if they make themselves felt it is only by indirect methods, which are sometimes effectual and sometimes not. In the last eighty years, beginning with the English Reform Bills, the extension of suffrage rights has been perhaps the most significant thing in the world's history. The ballot box has invaded almost every stronghold of political privilege and girdled the globe. It has found its way into China, Russia, the Islands of the Sea. But it has up to this time been a man's privilege.

It is easy to see why this has been. Democracy took over a world whose final court of arbitration was the battlefield and whose final force was the sword. In such a world as this men were of necessity dominant. The battle for the possession of the ballot begun between men themselves. It had first of all to be won by the unconsidered, men who had no recognized place in the political order, without station or authority, possessing nothing but themselves. That battle has been practically won. Universal manhood suffrage is a part of the political machinery of most civilized states. There are exceptions, but substantially the fight for universal manhood suffrage is won.

For a long time women did not ask to be considered, indeed it would have been useless had they done so. But now they are beginning to ask why in a movement like this they and they alone should be counted out. They are questioning the logic which makes sex distinctions final in the more active part of the conduct of a democracy. They have property, they pay taxes, they are vitally affected by the conduct of the state, they are makers of public opinion, they have their interests and their convictions; they want to know why they are being left out. They see that intelligence is no test, that moral worth is not considered, that political judgment is not necessarily demanded, that the greatest republic in the world offers to aliens after a residence of five years its most precious political privilege. In the face of all this they see themselves shut out. They cannot understand it; they want at least to know why. And we must confess when we attempt to answer them in the negative that our answers for the most part satisfy neither them nor us.

They tell us that they do not wish to depend for their representation in the state upon their husbands, their brothers or their

fathers. They point to an increasing number of women who are not represented by husbands, they tell us that our old simple theory of a state in which every woman is the sheltered member of a household has wholly broken down. Multitudes of women are not sheltered members of a household, they are on the firing line of the industrial and social battle and they are left there wanting the one weapon without which no man would for a moment consent to be left in such a position. They want to know why Bathhouse John has for a long generation been able to rule a notorious Chicago ward through the power of the ballot while Jane Addams, putting up as noble a fight for humanity as has ever been waged, has been left without a weapon at the very bloody angle of the battlefield. They tell us that they have their own idealisms, their own distinct contribution to our common life. They ask us how we would feel if conscious of right and fitness to take part in the business of the state we were pushed one side and had to stand merely as spectators while others no more fit or worthy than we went in and out the polling booth. They say that they are being denied what every man feels is the very privilege of personality itself. I confess frankly that our common arguments against it do not seem to me to carry weight.

The fact that a good many women do not want the ballot does not prove anything except that their sense of political and social responsibility has been numbed by generations of non-participation. A good many of the best things in the world have always had to be forced on the people who really need them most. There is nothing in a woman's mind which makes it impossible for her to pronounce as intelligently upon public questions as the average man nor is it conclusive to say that her place is in the home. That is true enough, save that any number of women are not there, and at any rate the home today is no isolated thing, no secluded sanctuary. Its most sacred and intimate interests are dependent upon the health of the body politic. There is hardly an aspect of home keeping or home making which is not affected by good or bad legislation. The education and safeguarding of our children, the purity of the food we cook, of the milk which is left at our doors, our security against contagious diseases, the very peace and order which lie about us all depend upon the action of the community in which we live, the city of which we are a part or the state to which we belong. To say that a woman can keep the home with no reference to what goes on outside the home is contradicted by fact and experience. To say that the polls are no fit places for women is to indict our masculine methods of carrying on the business of the state and not the women themselves. The experience of western states has shown that woman may come and go to the polls as they come and go everywhere else and that their presence has resulted in a physical and moral cleanliness which has been good for the polling booths and the men who go

there. In the main the results of suffrage in action here has been so far satisfactory. It has been a force for better things.

Time and space preclude extended details of our successful Votes for Women Week. The only active opposition came from the antis and was but a tempest in a tea-pot. I wonder how many of them realized that in threatening a boycott they came nearer militancy from the legal view-point than our suffragists ever did at their worst moments. I am glad to report that most of the stores adhered to their promises and decorated in our honor. To show, what every business man knows, that magnanimity pays and that it is well for all who are engaged in public work, to remember that life is short, the community is small and it is wise to have friends to go back to in case of need, I give the report of this controversy in full:

SUFFRAGIST PLAN BALKED BY "ANTIS"

MERCHANTS UNWITTINGLY DRAWN INTO LATEST CONTROVERSY

STORE BOYCOTT INTIMATED

Workers Opposed to Woman Suffrage Send Letter of Protest to
Business Men Persuaded to Decorate Stores in "Votes for
Women" Week

A new controversy between the woman suffrage party of Rhode Island and the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage into which certain merchants of Providence have been unwittingly drawn was opened yesterday when the anti-suffragists protested against the decoration of several stores in the colors of the suffragists during the celebration of votes for women week beginning next Sunday.

Several of the business men of the city had acted favorably upon a suggestion of the suffragists that their stores be appropriately decorated for the national observance of the woman suffrage movement when letters were received from the opposing association of women in which it was made clear that the decorations would not only be offensive to them, but would incur the antagonism of a large number of customers.

Upon receipt of the letter of protest one of the merchants who had promised to participate in the general decoration notified the officers of the woman suffrage party of the opposition that had been aroused.

A meeting of the executive committee of the party was called and a copy of the letter which had been furnished by the merchant was read to the body.

The members of the committee characterized the protest as an attempt to boycott the affected merchants, and in view of the great amount of work that had been done by the various committees and by the merchants in preparation of the decorations a statement of their position was authorized.

OFFENDING LETTER

Mrs. Sara M. Algeo, chairman of the party in Rhode Island, who issued the statement representing the committee, prefaced her explanation of the attitude of the suffragists by making public a copy of the offending letter, which follows:

"Peace Dale, R. I., April 17, 1914.

"Dear Sir—The suffragists of Rhode Island have advertised as a part of their campaign during the week beginning April 26, the decoration of stores, hotels and restaurants in the suffrage colors.

"In case you have been approached in this matter, we desire to call your attention to the fact that such procedure on your part will antagonize a large number of your customers.

"The Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage numbers nearly 3,500 women of the class most valuable as purchasers, being largely composed of home-keeping women and housekeepers.

"We think you may like to be aware of the fact that suffragists, though so much in evidence, are very far from being a majority of Rhode Island Women.

"Yours truly,

"MARY P. B. HAZARD,

"LOUISE C. HOPPIN,

"K. M. HARKNESS,

"J. COGGESHALL,

"CLARA E. MAINE."

MRS. ALGEO'S STATEMENT

Concerning the foregoing letter, Mrs. Algeo issued the following statement:

"The preceding letter containing intimations of a boycott, has been sent by the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage to the leading stores in the city.

"While it is not the usual policy of suffragists to enter into controversial relations with this organization, there are certain things which it is neither right nor possible to ignore.

"The Woman Suffrage party wishes to present to the shopkeepers and the public its view of an unpleasant situation which

has arisen in connection with the decoration of the shop windows.

"When the question of uniting in the national celebration, otherwise known as Woman's Independence Day, which is to take place on May 2, was discussed, various methods of interesting the public were suggested. One of them was that the stores would probably be pleased to participate in making Gala Day by combining the suffrage colors in effective decorations of shop windows, each showing his enterprise by some novel and artistic combination, as they have done in most of the larger cities. Accordingly a committee was formed to consult with some of our leading merchants in regard to celebrating in this manner and by the display not only present an artistic window, but encourage home industries by the introduction of suffrage wares.

"In other words, we asked our booksellers to display their suffrage books, our paper manufacturers their suffrage novelties and our dry goods merchants effective suitings in white and yellow. When some of them laughingly asked us if they should make a similar display for the anti-suffragists, we told them there was not the slightest objection on our part, provided the anti-suffragists wishes their wares displayed in public.

"There was no question, in any of our minds, or in the minds of the merchants consulted, that there was any other motive than the supply of a demand for a certain class of merchandise. Accepting the suggestion in the same manner that it was intended, a large number of our shopkeepers willingly entered into the spirit of the celebration, and it was not until the receipt of the preceding letter that they felt any doubts on the subject. Since then objections have come into the Woman Suffrage party office and we wish by this statement to relieve any merchant of all promises that he may have made in the matter, and have him understand that should he fail to decorate, the Woman Suffrage party in no wise threatens boycott, nor intends to penalize him in any way.

"We wish it emphatically understood that there is no desire on the part of the Woman Suffrage party to place any one of our shopkeepers in an embarrassing position, and leave it to the individual judgment of each to take any action the occasion warrants."—*The Providence Journal*, Wednesday, April 22, 1914.

One of the best of the many unique events of this ambitious week was the tea tendered the cast of "Fannie's First Play" at the Narragansett Hotel. Among the guests were: May Dowling, Katherine Pole, Sidney Paxton, Ivan Campbell, Eva Leonard Brown, and Dulce Musgrave, most of whom were English suffragists.

In the great demonstration which closed the week at Roger Williams Park, again the suffragists were first in establishing a

custom which might well be adopted by every woman's organization in the country. We planted a beautiful cut-leaf Japanese maple in honor Jane Addams. Part of the dedication exercise was the reading of an essay on the life of Jane Addams by Elsie Lustig, and the presentation to her of a prize "Twenty Years at Hull House," by Mrs. Algeo.



MRS. ALGEO PRESENTS PRIZE TO ELSIE LUSTIG

Miss Lustig concluded her essay with the following words:

"Now, by the unceasing and untiring efforts of Miss Addams, Hull House has become not only an oasis in Chicago for all the poor people in the slum district, but also a pattern for all similar organizations all over the country. There the foreign grandmothers may come to spin or to weave; there the fathers and children may hear splendid lectures; there, in the gymnasium and swimming pool, the boys may enjoy themselves to their hearts' content; in the studio all may have their share of art; in the kitchen the girls are taught how to cook; and, best of all, on the stage, plays of all nationalities are often given by the people who represent these. Plays which have always proved successful, and which

make the bond of union between the aliens from different countries, as one at Hull House!

"And, to Jane Addams, also might well have been written Longfellow's lines to Florence Nightingale:

" 'Upon our annals through the long
Hereafter of her speech and song,
That light its rays shall cast
From portals of the past.
A Lady with a Lamp shall stand
In the great history of the land,
A noble type of good,
Heroic Womanhood ;' "



Though we have since dedicated trees to Susan B. Anthony, Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Frances Willard, there is room in our Park for many more honored and historic names of our sex.

The speech of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the principal speaker of the occasion, contains a prophecy of which the accuracy of fulfillment might be surprising even to its maker. Dr. Wise said:

"I am always readiest to speak for woman suffrage when I remember that I am a churchman. It is a most rightful thing—that the churches and the synagogue should take the lead in this cause, and I can only wonder that any woman could do what a leading anti has done in requesting the preachers not to mention woman suffrage in their Mothers' Day sermons.

"I want to make plain the undemocratic character of the movement against us. Granted that women are unfit to vote, there is no better way to keep them unfit than to keep the ballot from them. I cannot agree with those that would give the wealthy, the educated, the women of circumstance the vote and withhold it from the rest. I want all women to vote, but if I must choose I should give it first to the wage-earning woman because she needs it most."

Dr. Wise took up many of the objections offered against woman suffrage and answered them. "They say government rests on force and women cannot bear arms. I answer that women have borne armies and I say that a despotism or a monarchy may rest on force, but a democratic government rests on moral strength. Women have always borne the heaviest cost of war, and the woman's vote will be always on the side of peace.

"We are told that women have enough influence now, and why should they have added responsibility. I tell you that influence without responsibility is a most dangerous thing and only a coward uses influence and refuses responsibility. We are told that the men can vote for women, can represent them. Wendell Phillips said that if women are like men, why not vote like man, and if they are different, how can men represent them? We are told women do not want to vote. That doesn't matter—it is their business to bear their share of the work of the world. We are asked to fear that women will not use it if they get it. In Chicago 31 per cent of the women voted and 32 per cent of the men. Not bad!

"We are asked to fear militancy, feminism and Socialism. Out of 20 lands struggling for woman suffrage only one is militant. The dark insinuation that suffragists believe in free love is made, and it is unjust and false. Socialism was beaten in California by the woman's vote and everywhere the vote of women has been found to be conservative.

"Woman's place is in the home, our anti friends tell us and that is why they hold so many meetings and bridge parties. Of course, no anti-suffragist in Rhode Island ever leaves her home. I have been a citizen for many years and am fairly active in New York politics, and my citizenship never took more than ten minutes a year out of my home."

The speaker called her hearers' attention to the case of a Southern President of a State Federation who refused to push a bill for the betterment of little children because she said a woman's

business was to please the men. "The women voters of Oregon passed that bill. Which was the most womanly? The most babies were born last year in New Zealand, where women vote."

In conclusion, Dr. Wise said, "I believe that before 1920, women will vote in every State in the United States and for Rhode Island, I leave you a slogan—Let Rhode Island make it unanimous."

A successful May dance, which the *Providence Journal* calls "the first of its kind" closed the winter's activities, though the next item I find in my invaluable scrapbook is "Women Suffrage Party Plans for the Summer," which proved one of the busiest ever:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY BALL

ABOUT 400 ATTENDED BRILLIANT AFFAIR IN CHURCHILL
HOUSE

OPENED WITH CONCERT

No Lack of Enthusiasm and Promoters of the Ball Covered Themselves with Glory.—Clever Exhibition of Dances Given by Young Woman a Feature

After weeks of planning and working the May ball of the Woman Suffrage party of Rhode Island took place in Churchill House last night, with an attendance of fully 400.

There was no lack of enthusiasm on the part of the members of the association and the promoters of the ball and to assert that the women whose idea it was and who carried it to so successful a culmination "covered themselves with glory" is no exaggeration.

The ball was opened with a concert by the Place Mandolin Orchestra from 8 to 8:30 o'clock and this was followed at intervals during the evening by an exhibition of the new dances by Miss Emma Handy and Mr. William W. Hall of New York. A clever exhibition of folk dances by Miss Marie L. Slack, assisted by Miss Mabel Frink, Miss Bessie Heptonstall, Miss Ruth Seabury, Miss Erma Tulip, Miss Maude Lewis and Miss Helen Jencks, was also a feature of the ball and the arrangement was as follows:

Mr. Place, orchestra, 8-8:30; one-step, waltz, Miss Handy; waltz, folk dancing, Miss Slack; drag, tango, Miss Handy; tango, Mr. Place, orchestra; waltz, folk dancing, Miss Slack; one-step, drag, Miss Handy; drag, Mr. Place, orchestra; waltz, mattische,

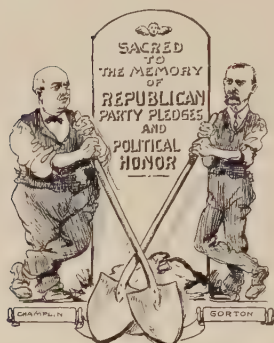
Miss Handy; mattische, folk dancing, Miss Slack; drag, Mr. Place, orchestra; one-step, Mr. Place, orchestra; waltz, extra two-step.

The patronesses of the ball were Miss Mary B. Anthony, Mrs. John G. Aldrich, Mrs. Arthur M. Allen, Mrs. Louis L. Angell, Mrs. John Carter Brown, Mrs. Sydney R. Burleigh, Mrs. Arnold B. Chace, Mrs. Malcolm G. Chace, Mrs. Gilbert C. Carpenter, Mrs. Gerald A. Cooper, Mrs. Anne Gilbreth Cross, Mrs. John A. Cross, Mrs. Lindsay T. Damon, Miss Louise Diman, Mrs. J. Urban Edgren, Miss Eleanor B. Green, Mrs. William B. Greenough, Mrs. Livingston Ham, Mrs. Ira D. Hasbrouck, Mrs. Frank L. Hinckley, Mrs. John S. Holbrook, Mrs. A. Livingston Kelley, Jr., Mrs. Charles A. Kilvert, Mrs. James A. Kinghorn, Mrs. Camillo von Klenze, Miss Cecilia Lacey Baker, Mrs. Carl B. Marshall, Mrs. Archibald C. Matteson, Mrs. Carroll Miller, Mrs. Samuel M. Nicholson, Mrs. George W. Parks, Mrs. Marsden J. Perry, Mrs. Henry F. Pitts, Mrs. F. E. Richmond, 2nd, Mrs. Walter E. Richmond, Mrs. G. F. Rooke, Mrs. Albert M. Steinert, Mrs. Arthur A. Thomas, Miss Mary C. Wheeler, Mrs. John F. Weir, all of Providence; Mrs. Le Baron C. Colt, Mrs. Wallis E. Howe, Mrs. Edward L. Leahy, Mrs. Charles B. Rockwell of Bristol; Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott of Newport and Mrs. G. Spencer Merrill of Peace Dale.

The committee of arrangements for the ball who worked indefatigably for its success, were: Mrs. Edwin C. Smith (Chairman); Mrs. G. Preston Brown, Miss Marguerite Reid, Mrs. John A. Cross, Miss Cora Joslin. Inspiring music for the dance was rendered by Miss Joslin's Orchestra. Lemonade was served during the evening by Mrs. J. Urban Edgren and her assistants. Among those present were Mr. and Mrs. Frank L. Hinckley.

Some of you may wonder that I give so much space to a mere dance. This was no ordinary dance I would have you understand. The word of the *Journal* "indefatigable" is just the one to describe the efforts of the committee who combed the city for patronesses and participants. So-called society was the last fortification to fall before the "Votes for Women" forces.

CHAPTER XIII



BREAK THE RING

In the summer of 1914, Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks came to Rhode Island; just at the right moment for her hot-headed Irish insurgency to fan to a flame the rebellion that had been smouldering in each and all of us over the treatment of our Presidential Bill during the preceding Legislature. We had begged, pleaded, "buttonholed," to no avail. One weapon was left to us—to fight and I, for one, am glad we had the sand to do it and that Mrs. Jenks came from another state, with none of the inherited inhibitions which made it hard for us, to lead in this doughty move. As I have stated before, no man likes to become a mark of obloquy for the women of his state and though our particular targets were elected as they boastfully stated by larger majorities than before, they never forgave us for our offence against their dignity. At one of our Legislative Council meetings R. Livingston Beeckman's, (he was then candidate for Governor), favorable and courteous attitude was referred to by one of his friends; if, I am not mistaken, myself. "Then, pledge him to recommend it in his message," said Miss Yates, and then and there we decided to campaign against him if he refused to do this for us. Though Mr. Beeckman knew that we could not defeat him yet he was too fine in his sensibilities to permit antagonism from so able a group as he knew was represented by women like Miss Mary B. Anthony, Mrs. Carl Barus, and a score of others who were in deadly earnest in this matter. He fulfilled his promise handsomely; all honor to this popular and cultured Governor of Rhode Island!



CONGRESSMAN
O'SHAUNESSY HAS
BEEN A CONSIST-
ENT SUPPORTER OF
THE SUFFRAGE
MOVEMENT IN THE
HALLS OF CON-
GRESS OF WASH-
INGTON, D. C.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS
George F. O'Shaunessy

Buy a Barrel of Apples and so help the farmer and save the precious fruit from going to waste.



FOR CONGRESS

Lieut. Gov. Roswell B. Burchard
 conjoint with President Woodrow Wilson
 in Washington, with Ex-President Taft at
 in Washington, with former Gov. Taft
 in Washington, with Cameron Forbes and John
 in New York, with Gov. Ma



For the Special Publication of
Woman Suffrage Party News



CLAUDE C. BALL

Progressive Candidate, Second District, for Congress

THOMAS P. HAVEN

Democratic Candidate for Congress

from 3rd District

under will be used to pay the amount of the
 \$100.00 in cash or by check or money order
 payable to the order of the State of New York
 or to the order of the State of New York
 or to the order of the State of New York



REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR
Robert Livingston Beeckman

also refer to the same.

JOSEPH H. GAINER

If Khamis should served himself as
one of the members, it is awarded to
him his good record for the last time.

Buy a Bolt of Cotton Cloth,
Wear a Cotton Dress, and by so
doing help the men and women
who are out of work.

most of the other



THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY
PASSED THE FOLLOWING
RESOLUTION

the 1980s, the business administration curriculum has been criticized for being too narrow and too theoretical. The curriculum is said to be too focused on the needs of the business community and not on the needs of the students. The curriculum is said to be too focused on the needs of the business community and not on the needs of the students. The curriculum is said to be too focused on the needs of the business community and not on the needs of the students.



PATRICK HENRY QUINN

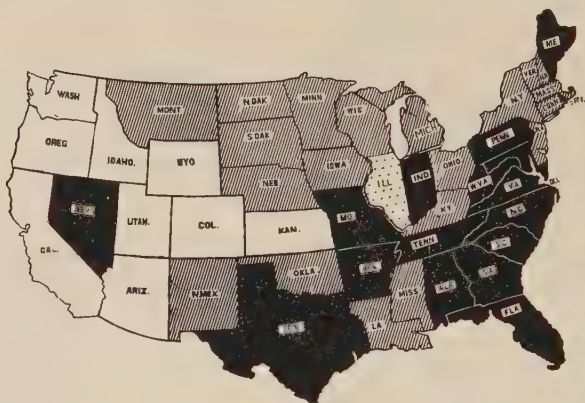
West Warwick

SARA M. ALGERO
AGNES M. JENKS

He retained the Governorship until the consummation of our purpose—full ratification in 1920. His wife for these years was not only the “first lady” of our State, but the best beloved. I have never heard an unkind criticism of Eleanor Thomas Beeckman.

Knowing that a politician and his money are soon parted at Election time, I got out a paper called “The Woman Suffrage Party News” and we secured sufficient advertisements to reap a handsome profit for our work. Mrs. Jenks tells of the really scientific manner in which we tried to put this new move across. I still maintain we succeeded in spite of defeat. As I said the iron had entered into our blood. We were out to win!

Votes for Women a Success



White States—Full Suffrage Shaded States—Partial Suffrage
Black States—No Suffrage

IMITATION IS THE SINCEREST FLATTERY

SUFFRAGE GRANTED

1869 WYOMING 1893 COLORADO, bounds Wyoming on south 1893 UTAH, bounds Wyoming and Colorado 1896 IDAHO, bounds Wyoming and Utah 1910 WASHINGTON, bounds Idaho on west 1911 CALIFORNIA 1912 OREGON, bounds California on south 1912 ARIZONA, bounds California on east 1912 KANSAS, bounds Colorado on east 1913 ALASKA 1913 ILLINOIS, starts a new cycle.

Would any of these States have adopted Equal Suffrage if it had been a failure just across the border?

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY NEWS

STRONG SUFFRAGE SENTIMENT IN RHODE ISLAND

Providence, R. I., October 31, 1914

The people of Rhode Island are proving by general public sentiment that they are more and more in favor of carrying out the democratic ideal of our Republic. That is, by their attendance in large numbers at equal suffrage rallies, their enthusiasm and applause, and above all, because they are more and more joining in large numbers societies to promote equal suffrage. The sentiment of public opinion in Rhode Island does credit to the citizens and is in line with the great work that is being done all over the country and also among many of the smaller nations of Europe.

SPREAD OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE

Equal suffrage now obtains in many European countries and Australia, and in the International Association twenty-nine countries are joined to carry on the work. At the last international convention in Budapest, Hungary, thirty-two countries sent delegates, and the hotels reported four thousand strangers in attendance. In this country we have nine States with full equal suffrage, Illinois and Alaska having presidential and municipal suffrage.

The presidential suffrage bill which passed in Illinois and was upheld by the Supreme Court is the identical bill drawn many years ago for the first time in Rhode Island.

In seven States campaigns are now going forward on the question of full suffrage for women. The voters will vote on this important question at the November elections and millions of Suffragists all over the country are awaiting results, knowing full well that we shall win at least four of these States.

WESTERN STATES MAY CONTROL ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Right here it is wise to point out that if four States, lying west of the Mississippi, go for equal suffrage it will mean that western States where women vote will control 140 votes in the electoral college. This is of great significance, in view of the fact that President Wilson is urging a presidential primary before 1916. Eastern politicians ought to remember that it has taken as low as 35 votes to swing a presidential nomination.

MANY PLANKS FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE

As this custom is a matter of principle and not of politics, we find that many States differ in the matter of putting a plank for equal suffrage into their party platforms. In Massachusetts the

Democrats have carried the plank; in Vermont the Republicans carry a plank; in Maine the Republicans and Progressives made it a party issue two years ago, every Republican and Progressive voting in favor. In many States, including Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and others, both parties now carry a plank for equal suffrage.

RHODE ISLAND PARTIES APPROACHED

In Rhode Island, when I found how strong the public sentiment was for this progressive measure, it seemed to me that it was a wise move to ask the Republicans and Democrats of the House and Senate how they stood on this important question. So many replies came in favor that I was encouraged to go on and ask the leaders for their opinion. I was met with courtesy by all these gentlemen and spoke before the State Central Committee of both parties. Until the last moment we had occasion to believe that both parties would put in our plank. I was highly disappointed that the Republican State Committee did not take advantage of the opportunity given them to do the women this act of justice. I want to say right here that as chairman of the Legislative Committee, with the entire approval of the Committee, we announced our policy of campaigning against candidates of any party should that party refuse to grant our request.

There was nothing equivocal in our stand. It was a plain statement that if our plank went in so that we could be sure our question should be brought before the general assembly for honest consideration and an honest vote, the women would go ahead with their campaign of education and allow the legislature to settle the political question as they saw fit.

OUR RECEPTION

Until the last possible moment we had hoped to receive word that the State Central Committee of the Republican party would put in our plank. The State Central Committee of the Democratic party gave us this hope also, and in convention ratified their promise. On the other hand, the Republican committee turned us down.

Upon receiving this information late one night, we determined that the next proper step was to visit the Republican convention, which had extended an invitation to the general public, and to place our question before the convention.

We understand that the group of gentlemen in charge of the convention was alarmed lest our delegation should interrupt their proceedings in an unmannerly way. We had no intention of going so far. It was of course a pleasure to us to be graciously met and invited to present our resolution and to be asked to speak for it from the platform. Our natural conclusion was that the resolu-

tion would be put to the convention and that they should be allowed to vote on it, but, as usual, the program was cut and dried and only those policies were allowed to come up which the little group of men, known as the "machine," permitted to go over to the delegates.

The applause for the suffrage plank was tremendous. I have never heard greater enthusiasm, and without question the duly elected delegates of the Republican party would have voted in favor of the plank had they been allowed a chance at it.

The plank was buried in the Committee on Resolutions. The hopes of the women were dashed to the ground, and the Republican machine once again proved their inability and unwillingness to face honestly and squarely the important issues of the day. I feel that Senator Henry F. Lippitt was the man behind the order that our resolution should not be presented, and forthwith give him warning that the women of this State will keep an eye on his maneuvers in Washington. We would like him to remember that there is an organization in Washington called the "Congressional Union," and these women are always on the job, and we would remind him that they have no craven fear of United States Senators. In fact, this may be said of the women of his own State; we are not afraid of him, and we do not propose to allow him to hoodwink us.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY IS NON-PARTISAN

The action of the Suffragists in campaigning against Republican candidates has nothing to do with the Republican party. Many of our women are themselves Republicans. It is a protest against machine-ridden politics and policies.

We have had workers at the State House since the middle of July looking up the records of various members of the different parties since the year 1911. We found that the same group of men came up again and again as voting against good bills and for bad bills. We also found that the legislature is run in such a fashion that it is practically impossible for any measure looking toward the people's interest to get by without enormous effort. We find that the committees are so arranged that a strong machine man is made chairman of each committee and given a sufficient number of party-healers to "yea, yea," and "nay, nay" any say-so of their chairman.

RECORDS OF 35 MEN

In connection with the Rotten Borough System, this method is well calculated to prevent any measure going through which the machine does not sanction. All told, we have complete records of 35 men, and these records we shall file away for future reference.

Our present numerical strength is great, our enthusiasm unbounded, but (not being politicians) our funds are short, so we concluded that 35 were too many to campaign against. We boiled the matter down until we were left with eight men on our hands—all equally reactionary, equally responsible for the obloquy that is cast upon the State of Rhode Island by every other State in the Union.

WILL TRY TO DEFEAT THREE MEN

At a legislative committee hearing held on October 12th there was a great deal of discussion in regard to these men, but it finally came to this—the vote was unanimous that Arthur P. Sumner, Representative of District 2, who is an arch enemy to progressive legislation of any sort and is commonly called “slippery and incompetent,” be chosen; Senator Gorton of Pawtucket was selected because the committee believed that he represents certain private interests and has no feeling whatever for the welfare of the public and the good of the average man, woman, or child; and Jacob Eaton of District 7, known as the “ducker,” due to his ability to evade voting, and as a machine man was picked as third.

The literature that has been put out by the Suffragists has been checked up by no less than four of the most brilliant lawyers in the State, who are ready to stand back of their advices. At this time we would like to give you the names of the other men whose records are put away, but we sincerely hope that before another year has gone by they will see the light of reason in regard to the suffrage question and will help along this great democratic movement for human rights, in which case it is only fair that we shall withhold mention until they have had a chance to express their opinion by their vote in the legislature.

We want it distinctly understood, the newspapers to the contrary notwithstanding, that we are not opposed to the Republican party; indeed, almost all members on the Legislative Committee are Republicans. We are opposed to the Republican machine, which we believe misrepresents their party.

Again, I would repeat that the Suffragists are extremely sorry that they are obliged to conduct this campaign; they only do it under great pressure, and we can still promise the public that when the women of Rhode Island attain the rights of full citizenship we shall enter the electorate as a purely neutral body. For the good of the State it should be soon.

AGNES M. JENKS,

Chairman Legislative Committee.

As the *Woman Suffrage Party News* closed its career with Vol. I, No. 1, after having served its financial and political purpose, it might be well to enlarge upon it in this belated obituary.

It had for contributors, in addition to the editor, Alice Stone Blackwell, Helen C. Putnam, Annie H. Barus, Agnes M Jencks, Lillie Buffum Chace Wyman, Althea L. Hall, Mrs. Edwin C. Smith, Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, Maude Rider and Mrs. Sara L. G. Fittz. The latter's "Stop, Look and Listen" column deserves perpetuation:

STOP, LOOK AND LISTEN

BY

SARA L. G. FITTZ

Madam Editor:

Here are a few button-bursters, warranted to sting the sense of humor of anything from a coffin-trimmer to the honorary president of an Anti-Suffrage Chain Gang. The literary bacillus bit me and I incubated a poem, sans some of the "superfluous" accessories that reg'lar poets adopt. A couple of these jokes Marshall Wilder stopped using in 1882 and are now only being used in the Kerosene Circuit, but "my Jerry" laughed at them, and so I fling them at your Providence denizens.

NOT LADYLIKE

The chief of the Highland clan McGregor, when his followers were indignant because he was not placed at the head of the table at a hotel in London, replied: "Where the McGregor sits IS the head of the table." Those who think that it is not "ladylike" to appeal to the delegates at the State conventions are notified that whatever the good women of this State think is proper and ladylike IS ladylike.

WOMEN NOT "DEEF"

At a recent wedding in North Carolina, when the minister came to that part of the ceremony in which the bride is to respond, a masculine voice replied "I will." The minister, thinking there was some mistake, again asked if the bride would take this man for her wedded husband. A deep base voice again responded. The minister was embarrassed for a minute, when a man sitting in one of the front pews arose and said, "Parson, she is deaf and I am answering for her." The men who oppose suffrage think that women are all "deef" and that they must answer for them.

For the Republican Party

"DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION"

We regret to record another outbreak of militancy. Last night, shouting "Taxation without representation is tyranny," a band of fanatics disguised as Indians threw into Boston harbor 342 chests of tea valued at £18,000. Public sympathy has been completely alienated by this act of vandalism and their cause put back 50 years.

 THE LAUNCHING OF THE REPUBLICAN SHIP OF STATE

Adapted from E. Lear, by Sara L. G. Fittz

I.

They went to sea in a sieve, they did,
 In a sieve they went to sea.
 In spite of all the women could say
 They harked them back to an ancient day.
 Aloud we cried "We want the vote,"
 And also warned, "You'll rock the boat,"
 Telling them of our numbers great
 With proofs from every suffrage State.
 They went to sea in a sieve, they did,
 In a sieve they went to sea.

II.

They sailed away in a sieve, they did,
 In a sieve they sailed so fast,
 And left our "Resolution" nice
 Resting safely on the ice.
 And some people cried, who saw them go,
 "Oh, won't they be soon upset, you know?
 For they haven't made safe their ship of state,
 There's no suffrage plank to hold the weight,"
 For they went to sea in a *leaky* sieve, they did,
 They went to sea in a sieve.

 DEFINITION

"Political sagacity" is the ability to tell a band wagon from a hearse.

"I notice, Senator," said the Rhode Island Suffragist, "that you are advocating a good many things which you used to say would ruin the country. What has caused you to now believe in them?"
 "I don't believe in them, but the public does."

The Woman Suffrage Party

NEWS

I go for all saving the principle of the government and what is bearing its burden, by no means by using arms.
— ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

If the Rhode Island Legislature passes the Bill giving Presidential suffrage to women in 1915, Rhode Island will have the honor of leading by about six months the thirteen original states in this valuable form of suffrage.



VICTORY 1915

"I don't want a vote, I've got a man," said the anti-suffragist. Suppose the man should say—"I don't want a vote, I've got a woman." It is a poor elevator that won't work both ways.

I give the following brief quotation from myself because it illustrates a principle which I tried to maintain in my public work—that of expressing appreciation for favors. We all like to have our good deeds recognized whatever we may declaim to the contrary. I pause to say right here that the people of Rhode Island, by and large, were mighty good with us howling dervishes and deserve all the thanks in the world.

THANK YOU

THANK YOU, Mr. Man, for the use of your automobile in campaigning. It's a lot more stylish and comfortable than a soap box!

THANK YOU, Mr. Contributor, for that dollar. The Lord loveth a cheerful giver—in Suffrage work especially.

THANK YOU, Mr. Worker, for that last chore which we couldn't afford to pay for but which we couldn't afford to do without.

THANK YOU Mr. Candidate, for talking up Woman Suffrage from the stump. A word in time saves nine words of explanation about why you became a Suffragist after our bill is passed.

THANK YOU, Mr. Business Man, for your advertisement. May orders for your goods be multiplied.

THANK YOU, ONE AND ALL, for your generous support to the cause of VOTES FOR WOMEN. To borrow the words of Tiny Tim—*God Bless Us, Every One.*

SARA M. ALGEO,

Chairman Woman Suffrage Party.

We also tried to ingratiate ourselves with business men and farmers by such civic appeals as:

"Buy a Barrel of Apples and so help the farmer and save the precious fruit from going to waste."

"Buy a Bolt of Cotton Cloth, Wear a Cotton Dress, and by so doing help the men and women who are out of work." Already effects of the war were beginning to show in industry.

After election it was necessary to have more funds if we were to continue headquarters and pay bills, so Miss Nettie E. Bauer essayed another bazaar of three days duration, December 3, 4 and 5, which was on a larger scale than that of the preceding year.

With her usual remarkable executive ability Miss Bauer brought it to a successful issue. Here we find a poster competition introduced which brought out a number of attractive subjects, which we were able to file away for future use. In these Justice seemed to be the prevailing figure, the working woman running a close second—an indication possibly of the viewpoint of artists toward our cause.

CHAPTER XIV



Anna H. Shaw

For me no other suffragist has exerted the same charm and fascination as that radiated by Dr. Shaw. Twice I maneuvered to have her as my guest at small dinners during the Conventions where, as rapt disciples, we younger women drank in every word of her slightest quip or fancy for, unlike some other great statesmen, Dr. Shaw did not ride a high horse all the time. The same sense of humor and pathos which made her audiences alternately laugh and cry under her mobile wand was always bubbling to the surface. I smile yet when I think of her closing flash of humor at the 1913 Convention:

By some objectors women are supposed to be unfit to vote because they are hysterical and emotional and of course men would not like to have emotion enter into a political campaign. They want to cut out all emotion; so they would like to cut us out. I had heard so much about our emotionalism that I went to the last Democratic national convention, held at Baltimore, to observe the calm repose of the male politicians. I saw some men take a picture of one gentleman whom they wanted elected and it was so big they had to walk sidewise as they carried it forward; they were followed by hundreds of other men screaming and yelling, shouting and singing the "Houn' Dawg;" then, when there was a lull, another set of men would start forward under another man's picture, whooping and howling still louder. I saw men jump up on the seats and throw their hats in the air and shout: "What's the matter with Champ Clark?" Then when those hats came down, other men would kick them back into the air, shouting at the top of their voices: "He's all right!!" Then I heard others howling for "Underwood, Underwood, first, last and all the time!!" No hysteria about it—just patriotic loyalty, splendid manly devotion to principle. And so they went on and on until five o'clock in the morning—the whole night long. I saw men jump up on their seats and jump down again and run around in a ring. I saw two men run towards another man to hug him both at once and they split his coat up the middle of his back and sent him spinning around like a wheel. All this with the perfect poise of the legal male mind in politics!

I have been to many women's conventions in my day, but I never saw a woman leap up on a chair and take off her bonnet and toss it up in the air and shout: "What's the matter with" somebody. I never saw a woman knock another woman's bonnet off her head as she screamed: "She's all right." I never heard a body of women whooping and yelling for five minutes when somebody's name was mentioned in the convention. But we are willing to admit that we are emotional. I have actually seen women stand up and wave their handkerchiefs. I have seen them take hold of hands and sing, "Blest be the tie that binds." Nobody denies that women are excitable. Still, when I hear how emotional and how excitable we are, I cannot help seeing in my mind's eye the fine repose and dignity of the Baltimore and other political conventions I have attended!

As early as January, 1915, many saw that America's share in the World War could not be evaded. Women like Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt were considering the part the great organization under their leadership should play. John R. Rathom, Managing Editor of the *Providence Journal*, and his wife, Florence Campbell Rathom, were already in the midst of the struggle. The story

of the *Providence Journal* and the World War has yet to be presented in its entirety, but the public knows enough already to realize its dramatic possibilities.

The following editorial appeared in the *Providence Sunday Journal* of January 17, 1915, which, I suspect, emanated from Mr. Rathom's pen. It shows the close interweaving of woman suffrage with the prevailing thought, a barometer of the expectant faith on the part of the National government in the coöperation of the great army of suffragists. That this army, when called to service in 1917, girded on its full armor was due to the patriotic devotion of Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt.

THE WAR AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Out of the war will come a new place, a new influence, for woman in this country. As the direct result of her demonstrated efficiency in large enterprises here in America, as for instance the management and direction of the Belgian relief, attention will be attracted as never before to the essential lack of any real distinction between the sexes so far as mental equipment and power are concerned.

If there is no such difference and if the fact is generally recognized, how much longer will it be before the ballot is bestowed upon woman not in a few and scattered States of the Union, but throughout the length and breadth of the land?

The possibility of this extension of the suffrage is one that every sensible citizen will acknowledge, whatever his feelings may be regarding the merits of the proposition. Woman, both in industry and in politics, is destined to occupy a more conspicuous position.

And what is true in the United States is true in every war-embattled country of Europe, where she has been called upon to perform many of the labors usually allotted to man. Is there any important branch of trade or industry, or any familiar profession, on either side of the ocean, in which in these marvellously changing times she has failed? Does anybody really believe that she will prove herself unequal in all the years of the future to the new and unfamiliar tasks that the great conflict has imposed upon her? When peace returns the line of demarcation between her "sphere" and man's will be fainter than ever. It had been getting fainter a long while before the war broke out.

The argument against woman suffrage has been based very largely upon certain presumed deficiencies in the feminine make-up. But every day there is a larger appreciation of the fact that woman possesses every essential attribute for the exercise of the political rights enjoyed by man. She is man's equal in mind and body and often in estate. History might be summed up as the

development of the idea of the equality of the sexes. Slowly but surely woman's bonds have slipped from her. She has advanced through a long series of subordinate stages to a point where the other sex is about ready to admit that she is not inferior.

The chivalry of feudal times, however charming to read about at this comfortable distance, was based on the confirmed idea that man was the superior being. Woman, with rare exceptions, was not supposed to be fit for leadership or even for an equal place in important enterprises. Her place was thought to be at the window, watching the knights ride away to the real business of life. But we know better now.

Nothing is more impressive about the unparalleled conflict in Europe than its destruction of artificial distinctions. Cliques, castes and classes mean less to-day than at any time in the past. Employers and employed, nobles and yeomen, earls and day laborers have fought side by side, while at home women of the highest and lowest social ranks have shared the sorrows and responsibilities inescapable in such a time of supreme stress.

It is not surprising that in this world-moving crisis the artificial distinctions heretofore existing between the sexes should be minimized, as so many other unnatural lines of division have been, or that men should newly ask themselves why the suffrage barriers of an ancient and outworn time must be maintained against their mothers, wives and daughters.—*The Providence Sunday Journal*, Jan. 17, 1915.

To my deep and everlasting regret I did not have a stenographer take verbatim the speech of Dr. Shaw in Infantry Hall, the evening of January 24, 1915. I consider it one of the great moments in our history, which we failed to crystallize in stable form for future generations. To Dr. Shaw with many of her own people involved in the world cataclysm, her own perceptions highly sensitized to every changing current in our administration, it was a dramatic moment. In private conversation with me before the meeting she begged that no one should speak before her. "It would seep away what little energy I have and I want to be at my best to-night," were her words as they come back to me through the years.

She felt that she had a great message to deliver for her heart was in New England owing to her early life in Boston. She too was a graduate of Boston University of both Medical and Theological Schools. I had attended so many meetings where the spirit of the audience, however willing, had been dampened by dull and lengthy preambles that I had Dr. Shaw on her feet just six minutes, by my husband's watch, after the meeting opened. In my introductory remarks I paused for but one inci-

dent which I always loved when I had heard it given by Dr. Shaw. It was of a conversation between her two nieces aged four and six. The younger one said she had become tired of being a suffragist, it wasn't much fun anyway; but she was sharply admonished by the older one who chided her that she should be ashamed for giving up so soon: "Why, look at Aunt Anna, she's been a suffragist for hundreds and hundreds of years and isn't tired yet." Again the *Tribune* gave the best account though it omitted the wonderful peroration on peace with which her speech was brought to a close:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE LEADER PRAISED BEECKMAN AND CRITICISED WILSON

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW AT INFANTRY HALL MEETING LAST WEEK CONGRATULATED RHODE ISLAND ON ITS CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S RECOMMENDATION THAT THE PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE BILL BE PASSED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND CRITICISED THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR HIS ATTITUDE ON THE SAME QUESTION.

R. Livingston Beeckman, Rhode Island's new Governor, came in for all the bouquets and President Wilson got all the knocks at the lecture delivered by Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, in Infantry Hall, Tuesday evening.

Dr. Shaw said: "I congratulate Rhode Island on its Governor's recommendation that the presidential suffrage bill be passed in Rhode Island. I can remember," she said, "when it would be impossible to get this splendid audience in Rhode Island. This great hall is nearly filled. This is a convention hall and I am told it is filled when politicians hold conventions here. Well, when we become politicians, it will be filled also. I congratulate you on the stand your Governor has taken and I hope you will get a new Constitution which will recognize all its citizens over 21 years of age. You have worked hard in Rhode Island, like suffragists everywhere have worked.

"I hope you will get your presidential suffrage for which you are asking. It is very important now when 11 States have presidential suffrage for women. They hold the balance of power and no man will ever be elected President of the United States again, who does not know where he stands on woman suffrage." She proceeded to explain why. She said the admission of the new suffrage



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

States leaves the balance of power in any presidential election with these States. "None of the great political parties are going to ignore that fact," said Dr. Shaw, "and no man will ever again be nominated for President of the United States who does not know where he stands on woman suffrage."

"President Wilson," she continued, "listened to me very patiently last week. When I told him that in his own State of New Jersey the leaders of all the civic reform work were women he smiled and agreed with me. When I mentioned a few of the prominent women responsible for better conditions in the State of New Jersey, he recalled two more that I had forgotten."

Dr. Shaw has been one of President Wilson's most devoted followers (in the literal sense of the word) ever since his election.

A GAME OF HIDE AND SEEK

President Wilson, early in his administration, told Dr. Shaw that woman suffrage was not in his party platform—and so he could not express himself as in favor of it. Presidential primaries and a few other things equally radical have come from the President from time to time and each time Dr. Shaw has been quick to ask him where in the party platform he found them. This little game of hide and seek between President Wilson and Dr. Shaw, around the party platform, led a New York daily to comment editorially: "Whenever President Wilson sees Dr. Shaw in the distance he runs for his seat on the party platform."

One can well realize that Dr. Shaw is no mean antagonist in any game, with her wonderful gift of English, her keen sense of humor, her gentle but real satire and her logical brain which sleeps not a minute. Her smile is at once contagious and she quite as often uses it to draw her conclusion as she uses words to convince. She puts the smile in the middle of her sentences sometimes like this: "Men are so consistent—smile—in their inconsistency."

Dr. Shaw has conducted so many campaigns to get equal suffrage for women, has made countless speeches all over this country, has many times addressed important committees of both Houses of Congress. She paid her respects to the gentlemen of Congress, who debated the suffrage amendment last week and expressed herself as well pleased, with the vote. "We have gone far," she said. "We started with nothing and to-day women vote in 49½%—2.5 of the territory of our country. We have presented our suffrage bill to Congress every year for 43 years, and for the first time it was debated and voted upon." Speaking of the debate, she said: "Why can't men do away with the sentimental mush that we heard in Congress last week, volumes of it. Great big men actually weeping at the thought of their wives, mothers, sisters and sweethearts being dragged in the mire of politics and soiling their petticoats. Why can't men forget our petticoats and our relationship?"

"Men have a lot of common sense when they talk about each other, they are fair and honest in wishing every man to have his chance, but the minute you mention women, they lose all sense of proportion and begin that sentimental mush. Why can't they regard us as human beings apart from themselves, responsible human beings and treat us accordingly. No man weeps over the fate of any woman except his women relatives. Other women who work in his office, his factory, his shop, may bear all the burdens of life but his mother—his wife, his sister, his sweetheart, anything that is his, Oh, my!

THE GREATEST POLITICAL ISSUE

"But one thing we learned from the debate," said Dr. Shaw, "was just what we suffragists are. We are the greatest political issue in this country to-day. Congress told us so. Isn't it fine to have grown from a few discontented short-haired women and long-haired men to the greatest political issue in this country to-day. That is no small contract for us to live up to. We shall have to do big things to live up to the reputation Congress has given us. We have won much. We have the solid Western coast and way east to Kansas, our wedge to the East. But why should it all come from the West? What is the matter with Eastern women that men will not do them justice? What is the matter with Eastern men that they cannot be fair to the women? The East will remain asleep too long and wake to find the West holding the balance of power in Congress. We want the East to wake up. We want an eastern suffrage State for a wedge in from the Atlantic and what a pretty little wedge Rhode Island would make." We have had to go through a process like no body of men in the world ever had to go through to get a voice in their own government. We only ask that the Government shall live up to its principles. If it claims to be a republic, let it be a republic, but where is the consistency in men saying, "The People Rule," when half the people do not rule. The men of this country have been listening to a bass solo and thinking it was the voice of the people. They must understand that there is a soprano as well as bass in the voice of the people.

HAVE WORKED FOR 60 YEARS

"Young men, very young men, sometimes tell us that if we want to vote we must work for it and show that we want it. We have worked for nearly 60 years and yet when we parade to show that we want to vote, the same young men hold up their hands and say: 'How unwomanly.' These same young men never worked for their vote nor had to parade to show that they wanted it.

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF SEX

"But the Divine Right of Sex is dying just as surely in this country to-day as the Divine Right of Kings is dying on the battle-fields of Flanders. This country laughed at young Emperor William when he declared he ruled by Divine Right and we may well laugh at the men who tell us that they rule by the Divine Right of Sex. The Goddess of Justice is a woman and she only holds the scales even because she is blindfolded. When she sees, she knows they are tipped far to one side. Nine-tenths of government has to do with the home, food, milk, clean water, garbage, sewage, the schools and a woman has as much interest in these as a man.

"They tell us a woman's place is at home. So it is if she has one, and a man's place is at home if he has one. No one asks a man if he will forget to attend to his business if he votes. No one asks a man if he will continue to love his wife and provide for his children if he votes. And no one has a right to put such questions to women. Sex is not a fair qualification for citizenship. An age qualification is fair and that a citizen should be native born or naturalized is fair, and that he should be able to read the ballot is fair. But sex is not a qualification and it raises an inseparable barrier against half the people of this land. The word male is not a qualification since the larger part of the disqualified criminals and imbeciles are males. Holding property is not a qualification for citizenship, although I am told that you people in Rhode Island think so. All the State should ask a man is if he is 21 and lives in the community. And that is all it has a right to ask a woman.

MEN'S CONSISTENCY

"Men came to this country for religious liberty and immediately they hanged Quakers and burned witches. They even drove a Baptist over into Rhode Island. At first no one could vote but those of the church of the community. Then they let in all white men who owned property, then all white men, then all men, and finally they must admit all human beings over 21 years of age who contribute to the support of the State and are responsible to the State. Women walk with men in all other capacities of life and she has a right to express herself in her own government. No man can vote for two people any more than he can eat for two people, and women who have been invited to sit in balconies and watch men eat, know that no man can eat for two people."

Dr. Shaw is the greatest woman orator in this country and her fame is not only at home, but many audiences abroad have felt and respond to her wonderful magnetic personality. She is the only woman who has preached in the State Church of Sweden.

A SPLENDID AUDIENCE

She had a splendid audience before her in Infantry Hall, Tuesday evening, and she had a group of representative women behind her on the platform. Miss Sarah E. Doyle, Rhode Island's best beloved clubwoman, and the founder of the Woman's College at Brown was there. Mrs. James W. Algeo, ex-President of the College League for Equal Suffrage and Chairman of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Party presided, and introduced Dr. Shaw. Mrs. Louis L. Angell, President of the Rhode Island Women's Club; Mrs. Ira D. Hasbrouck, ex-President of the Rhode Island State Federation; Mrs. George F. Rooke, President of the Rhode Island Women's Christian Temperance Union; Mrs. Alfred F. Lustig, ex-President of the Rhode Island Housewives' League; Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates, honorary President of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, and Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, its President; Dr. Helen C. Putnam, Mrs. Camillo von Klenze of the College Equal Suffrage League; Mrs. George Manchester of Pawtuxet Valley; Miss Abby Gardiner of Wickford, and Mrs. Mitchell of Bristol.

The hall was bright with the yellow banners of the local suffrage organizations and the suffrage color was noticeable in the yellow gowns here and there of the women ushers.

After her talk, Dr. Shaw held an informal reception and many crowded to the front to shake her hand.

She had a pleasant word for everyone, and answered many questions put to her. When one tall and dignified gentleman of serious mien asked her why there should be even an age limit; why not let the children vote, too, she gave it up and he was left to think it out all alone.

Among the women who attended at the door, sold literature, gave away *Woman's Journals* and sold chocolates were Miss Nettie Bauer, Mrs. Edwin C. Smith, Mrs. H. E. Pearsall, Mrs. Maude E. Rider, Miss Mildred Glines, Miss Marie Lee, Miss Beulah Merriam, Miss Mabel F. Armstrong, Miss Maude E. Armstrong, Miss Susan M. Dodge, Mrs. Harold Peirce, Miss Althea Hall, Miss Sarah Holt, Miss Fay Caldwell, Miss E. F. Ryan, Miss Grace Ryan, Miss Frances Ryan, Miss Millie Locke, Miss Hazel Tidd, Miss Elsie Stacher and Mrs. Max Abelson.—*The Sunday Tribune*, Providence, R. I., Jan. 24, 1915.

The next day I went to Boston with Dr. Shaw, where we had dinner together and a good chance to talk. She was much delighted with her audience of the evening before, who had changed from tears to laughter and then back again to tears, under her matchless eloquence and talked fully and freely of her varied experiences in her life-work. Her friendship for Mrs. Catt was

like unto that of David and Jonathan. Again, we had in them the triumphal march "arm in arm" down Great Queen Street, only this time it was to final victory and for one the "Gates of Paradise."

So illustrious has been the work of Dr. Shaw, internationally, nationally and in our own small state that I close this chapter devoted to her alone with her words sent to the *Sunday Tribune* of March 7, 1915. The House Judiciary Committee was to hold a public hearing the following Tuesday on the Presidential Suffrage Bill, which, if it had been an obsession before, had now become a mania with Rhode Island women. It had become a habit with the *Tribune* to devote Sunday pages to our cause, all of them compiled with much care and preparation:

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW

PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

At the beginning of a year which promises to be of tremendous importance in the history of woman suffrage, with the question of whether women shall be partly enfranchised facing members of the General Assembly I cannot help glancing ahead to 1916. For next year, woman suffrage will be an issue of the presidential campaign. The recent debate in the House of Representatives was proof of the fact that politicians can no longer ignore the question; neither can the President of the United States afford to ignore it much longer, or to side step the issue with talk of States' rights and other questions. Ninety-one of the electoral votes come from States which have adopted woman suffrage. It is necessary to have 266 votes for a choice, to be sure, but 91 votes are a sufficient number to carry weight.

As to the work in the States, last year we were looking westward for suffrage developments; this year, we are turning eastward; next year, the South will be claiming attention. The Legislatures of Tennessee and West Virginia have already passed the suffrage bill; North Carolina and Alabama will consider it, and if it is passed the question will come to the voters in these States, with the exception of West Virginia, at their regular election a year from this fall. In West Virginia it must pass another Legislature and be voted on in 1917. New Mexico, which has never before been alive in the matter of suffrage legislation, has introduced a bill this year; Texas and Oklahoma are campaigning for suffrage. Rhode Island, Vermont and New Hampshire have introduced bills for presidential suffrage, and as many as six or seven other States plan to follow their example.

With 49½ per cent of the country already won for woman suffrage, with the question up for debate in the lower house of Congress for the first time at the beginning of this year, with a debate in the Senate, it is plain that this 60-year-old agitation for the enfranchisement of women has become a political issue, and yet the fact that the question of giving votes to women is important politically is not enough to stir the minds and hearts of men to an appreciation of what the suffrage cause means and so I want to tell why I (and I believe I speak for the thousands of women belonging to the National Association), believe in votes for women.

I believe in woman suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children. These questions, which are constantly being brought up in connection with equal suffrage, seem to me to have nothing to do with it. They are mere suppositions not based on fact, intended to befog the unthinking person. I want rather to discuss the question from the standpoint of one who believes in the fundamental principles of democracy.

If I were to go to darkest Russia I would feel that I had a real task in trying to persuade the people to believe in a Republican form of government. Just why it is necessary in the United States to argue for a single moment to prove that a Republican form of government is desirable, nobody has yet been able to discover, and yet I find it very difficult to make men and women believe in the fundamental principles of this kind of Government in the United States.

INCONSISTENCY OF MEN

It seems to me that from the beginning of our national life American men have been the most consistent in their inconsistency of the men of any nation in the world. They have had high and broad ideals of justice, but have been afraid to live up to them. They have repeated over and over their sublime ideals—and then forgotten them. Men have seen the truth; they have grasped the high ideals of the right of self-government, the fundamental principle underlying our national life, that “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,” and then they have tried to frame constitutions to eliminate from the Government as many people as they chose.

And isn't it a remarkable fact that the people who argue against the enfranchisement of women or any other class, who draw lines, always draw the line outside themselves?

Some time ago I lectured in the east end of New York to a company of young Russian Jews. After I was through talking, and was leaving the hall, one of the girls said to me:

"That's all right; we believe in woman suffrage, but then we are educated. We have been driven out of our own country. We have become exiles in a strange land. You have not welcomed us. We have had a training in hardship and discouragement, and despair. We know what we want, but what do those women up on Fifth avenue know about it?"

And not long after that I went to Fifth avenue and spoke in one of the ballrooms. It was a brilliant gathering—more brilliant than I have ever seen at any woman's assemblage—and when it was over one of the women said to me:

"In our hearts we all believe in woman suffrage. It would be all right for us; but think of the ignorant vote. What do you think those people down on the East Side know about voting?"

I said: "I don't know. I was there last week, and they were wondering what you would know about it."

It seems to me that it would be a fine thing if one day in the year these people from the upper and the lower classes stood side by side at the ballot-box and gave expression to their ideals of good government.

The time has gone by when a few people can sit up and tell the rest of the people what kind of a government they ought to have. They want the kind of government they want, and I believe that out of this government will come the kind of government they ought to have.

THE SAME INSPIRATION

It is such principles of democracy as inspired our revolutionary ancestors which inspire the women of America to-day who are working for suffrage. They believe with Samuel Adams that "the right of representation is an original right to nature," and with Alexander Hamilton, when he said "the mode and manner in which the people shall take part in the government of their creation may be prescribed by the Constitution, but the right itself is antecedent to all Constitutions, and can neither be bought nor sold or given away;" and Benjamin Franklin, who said: "Those who have no voice or vote in the election of representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have the vote and to their representatives;" and with James Madison, "let it be remembered, finally, that it has ever been the pride and boast of America that the rights for which she contends are the rights of human nature."

We have had a lot of pride and boasts, and now we want votes. The anti-suffragists base their argument against the enfranchisement of women on the statement that it is not a right, but a privilege. If this is so, our ancestors and our Constitution were all wrong. But when it comes to talking about privileges versus right, and so getting into a war of words, it reminds me of an old professor of mine.

WHAT IS PROPHECY?

He taught me Greek when I was studying theology. One day we came to the chapter in the New Testament where, on the mountain-top after Pentecost, the people declared that the Christians were drunk, and Peter defended them by saying: "These are not drunken; this is the fulfilment of our own scriptures, of your own prophet, Joel, who said: 'In the last days, I shall pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and daughters shall prophesy.'" "Oh," I said, "then women preached at the time of the Pentecost?"

I asked the professor what it meant by prophecy.

"Well," he said, "it depends on where it is used. In the Old Testament, they use it in a double sense, but in the New Testament it is used wholly in the sense of preaching."

"Oh," I said, "then women preached at the time of the Pentecost?"

The professor was bitterly opposed to women's preaching, and didn't like to have me in his class. "No, no," he said, "the women talked to each other."

"What did the men do?" I asked. "Did they talk to each other?"

"No, no," said he, "they preached."

And I said: "But the two are connected by a conjunction, 'men and women,' and when the woman talked they talked, and when the men talked they preached. Is that the way it was?"

He said: "We will resume."

MERE WAR OF WORDS

And that is the way it always is when a discussion is turned into a mere war of words. Neither side can arrive at any sensible conclusion. And that seems to me the result of this "privileged right" discussion. The anti-suffragists base their argument against woman suffrage on the fact that it is not a right but a privilege, and yet in all the articles and all the discussion in regard to the framing of the Constitution the men who were our leaders at that time went on record as believing that representation is a right of human nature.

I realize that States' rights is an adjustable proposition. I also realize that it always adjusts against the suffragists. The original Constitution undoubtedly gave to the States the right to regulate the elections. We suffragists have never denied this, but in the fourth section of the fourth article of the national Constitution there is a statement which I have never heard quoted against woman suffrage, and which, if carried out, would give women suffrage in every State in the union immediately. This section reads: "The United States guarantees to every State a Republican form of government."

Now what is a Republican form of government? It is a government in which the laws are enacted by representatives elected by

the people. When did any State in the union except the equal suffrage States have a Republican form of government?

We have a Government in which men have elected representatives, and while I grant you that men are people and admirable people as far as they go, they only go half-way—there's still one-half of the people who do not elect their representatives. And yet no one ever read a definition of a republic in a dictionary or encyclopedia or anywhere else which said a republic was a government in which half the people elect representatives to govern all the people.

NO ARISTOCRACY OF SEX

There might be some weight to an aristocracy of birth. After generations and generations of birth and training, we might produce a very exceptional man. There might be some excuse for an aristocracy of wealth, for wealth gives opportunity for culture and refinement, although that opportunity is not always grasped. There might be such a thing as an aristocracy of military power, for that gives a certain sort of strength. But when you come to an aristocracy of sex, what can you say for that? The time has come when the theory of the divine right of sex is as obsolete as the theory of the divine right of kings. The battle to the death of one is being fought in this country to-day by women suffragists, the battle to the death of the other is being fought across the sea. The theory of the divine right of human beings to govern other adult human beings belongs to an age which is dead.

I might quote page after page from the utterances of men who have believed in a Republican form of government, who have believed that "citizen" and "people of the United States" are synonymous. I might quote Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. When people say that woman suffrage is a fad of a few dissatisfied women who want to vote, and that these women are other spinsters or discontented wives (that is the kind of a statement you will actually hear people making), we have only to refer them to the greatest men the country has ever produced and show them exactly where they stood. Men to-day are reiterating the sentiments of the great men who preceded them. But it seems to me they use these great words and sentences without thinking. They forget us. It is a terrible thing to be forgotten, but we are so completely forgotten that the people who forget us don't know they have forgotten anything.

ONLY RELATIVES

It seems to me that many men have never considered women as human beings. We are always spoken of as being related to men. They say: "Shall not our wives, sisters, cousins, aunts and mothers have this, that, and the other thing? Shall we not protect them?" But they never think of us as they think of other men.

The average man is fair-minded in discussing the rights and privileges of other men; he can look at another man and say: "This man has the same rights I have to every opportunity under the law that I enjoy; no knowledge which is granted to me by the Government shall be mine more than his." Every right thinking man feels that way toward every other man; but when you take that same man and introduce the subject of women, immediately he cannot speak of a woman as a human being simply as my sister, my mother, my wife, my daughter; she is a relation—a relation to a human being. If men could remember that we too are human, with ambitions and hopes and aspirations and desires such as men have, if they could think of us as they think of each other, not only concerned with those affairs which come within the limits of the inside of the house, but those which come without as well, men would be just as fair to us as they are to each other. They must think of each individual woman as an individual unit, an entity, a part of the commonwealth before they are able to grasp the fundamental principles of the right of a woman to vote; not because she will vote every time, not because she will always vote right, not because she has more sense than men (she has in certain respects, and men have a great deal more than she, in other respects), but everything that is known is known to men and women together, and when this fullness of the knowledge of all men and women shall be brought together at the ballot-box to govern all men and women, a better condition will prevail for both men and women.

It is because we believe in the rights of women as human beings, we suffragists, just as we believe in the rights of men as human beings that we demand that the fundamental principles of democracy shall be recognized as far as women are concerned, as they are recognized as far as men are concerned. When the opportunity to vote on this question comes to the men of any State we ask them to remember that we women are not asking them to do a thing which will upset the Government and tear up the roots and foundations of society, we are not asking for the destruction of the home and the overthrow of social and civil life, all we are asking is for the next orderly step in the process of the evolution of a republic. The first step in this evolutionary process was taken when the ballot was given to church members; then men rubbed out the word church member and put in taxpayer; then they rubbed out taxpayer and put in the word "white;" then they rubbed out the word "white" and the word "male" stood by itself. Every single man, good and bad, black and white, native and foreign-born, had a full chance, and "male" stood there by itself.

And now the only thing we are asking of men is to get out that evolutionary—not revolutionary—eraser once more and rub that word "male" out of the Constitution. Let our Constitution

stand as it ought to have stood in the beginning and as it must stand before this nation is a republic, when every citizen possessing the necessary qualifications shall be entitled to cast one vote at every election and have that vote counted. That is what woman suffragists are asking, only this, and nothing more.

One of my last recollections of Dr. Shaw takes us back to the last purely suffrage Convention in St. Louis in 1919. After Mrs. Catt's speech for the formation of a League of Women Voters a group of southern women came to the platform and Mrs. Guilford Dudley in eloquent words presented her and Dr. Shaw large framed parchments on which President Wilson's appeal to the Senate for the submission of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, Sept. 30, 1918, was beautifully wrought in illuminated letters by the artist Scapecchi. How it must have delighted this truly great Democrat to declare for all time a truce with that other truly great Democrat, President Wilson. At the last of the Convention, when almost all had gone home, a few of us had dinner with Dr. Shaw. It was plain to see that she was tired. The war had sapped her vitality more than she herself realized. As head of the Woman's committee of National Defense, she had given beyond her strength.

While in the midst of preparation for another visit from Dr. Shaw to our State, the sad news came that she had passed away at her home in Moylan, Pennsylvania, on July 2, 1919, at the age of seventy-two.

CHAPTER XV

THE FIGHT DRAGS ON

Again we expected the Legislature of 1915 to pass the Presidential Suffrage Bill and again were we disappointed. If you have any doubt how hard we had to work just read through the following:

WOMEN WORKERS ARE OPTIMISTIC

THEY BELIEVE GENERAL ASSEMBLY WILL PASS PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE BILL

PRAISE FOR BEECKMAN

Series of Meetings Will Be Held Throughout the State Beginning To-morrow

The suffrage workers of this State, who seek the passage by the General Assembly for an act granting them the right to vote for Presidential electors feel much encouraged over the outlook. The passage of a woman suffrage bill by the New York Assembly, the New Jersey and West Virginia legislatures during the past few days leads them to believe that the pendulum has begun to swing in favor of their cause and that Rhode Island will have partial suffrage before next fall.

"I am very much encouraged over the situation," said Mrs. Sarah M. Algeo, Chairman of the Woman Suffrage yesterday. The Democratic party included a woman suffrage plank in its State platform and Governor Beeckman has been just splendid toward us. He has come out publicly in favor of woman suffrage and we know that he is doing everything in his power to aid us.

The Presidential Suffrage bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Richard W. Jennings, the Republican leader, and as he did not state that he was introducing it by request it is fair to believe that he favors the measure. In the Senate the act was presented by Senator Clark Burdick of Newport and he also introduced it as if coming from him.

"Earnest efforts are being made on the part of the suffragists throughout the State to secure the passage of this bill."

Mrs. Barton P. Jenks, Chairman of the legislative committee which meets at the home of Mrs. John A. Cross every Tuesday

morning on Stimson avenue, has made such complete arrangements in connections with lobbying that every man in the House and Senate will be interviewed by a number of his constituents in regard to his attitude on the suffrage bill. Two members represent the suffragists daily at each legislative session.

The State committee of the Woman Suffrage party, of which Mrs. J. W. Algeo is Chairman, has been increased and will, as far as possible, include a member of each of the 100 representative districts of Rhode Island.

These district leaders will ask the constituents of the men who represent their districts to write letters and interview their legislators. Many district meetings are being planned, as well as general meetings, in the advancement of the work. Some of the more important meetings are the following:

In District 4, on Feb. 8, Mrs. Fittz will speak on "Organizing to Win," at the Mansion House at 8:15 p. m.

State Suffrage Association on Feb. 11, Mrs. Parks and Mrs. Thurber will speak at Miss Bronson's school on Hope street at 3 p. m.

State Suffrage Association, on Feb. 19, Prof. Langdon will speak at Royal Arcanum at 8 o'clock.

District 19, on Feb. 23, Miss Yates will speak at the Pond Street Church at 8 o'clock. Miss Mary Jackson is leader in this district.

At the Y. W. C. A. on March 11 "Suffrage Medal Contest," in which Mrs. Fittz will speak at 3 p. m.

State Suffrage Association, on March 31, Prof. John C. Dunning will speak at Royal Arcanum Hall at 8 o'clock on "Woman Suffrage a Political Issue."

State Suffrage Association, on April 30, Prof. J. Q. Dealey will speak at Royal Arcanum Hall on "Social Aspects of the Suffrage Work."

Mrs. J. W. Algeo will speak in Newport at the home of Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott on Wednesday on the subject "What Newport Can Do to Help Pass the Presidential Suffrage Bill."

Mrs. O. H. Belmont of Newport will use her influence among the summer residents to help further passage of this bill.

Already keen interest in the Rhode Island situation has been manifested from the States where the constitutional amendment will be submitted to the people next fall. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts suffrage leaders feel that if Rhode Island leads the 13 original States in securing presidential suffrage the reaction will be most favorable in influencing the votes in the fall campaign.

"The hearty endorsement contained in Gov. Beeckman's message has attracted much favorable comment throughout these States.

"At the request of Miss Doris Stevens, Organizer of the Panama Suffrage Exhibit of the Congressional Union, the Woman Suffrage

party will take part in this exhibit and display some of its local work."

Among the new members who will serve on the State Committee of the Woman Suffrage party are: Mrs. Lowell Dunbar, District No. 1, Cranston; Mrs. W. H. Comstock, District No. 4, Cranston; Miss Lilly M. Coffin, Johnston; Miss Edith Edwards, Woonsocket; Miss Genevieve Partridge, Woonsocket; Mrs. Eugene Sturtevant, Newport; Mrs. Florence Clark, Richmond; Mrs. Fred P. Kenney, Central Falls; Mrs. Caroline Dowell, District No. 7, Providence; Dr. M. Hardman, District No. 9; Miss Lina Young, District No. 10; Mrs. Mary A. Daniels, District No. 16; Miss Mabel Armstrong, District No. 18; Mrs. Henry Breckinbridge, District No. 21; Mrs. Jerome Fittz, District No. 22; Mrs. Victor Frazee, Barrington; Mrs. George F. Rooke, East Providence. *The Sunday Tribune*, Providence, Feb. 7, 1915.

Again we find our friendly *Tribune* giving a whole page to the men advocates of woman suffrage, among whom stand out in sharp relief Col. Samuel P. Colt and Senator Philip H. Wilbour. Gov. R. Livingston Beeckman's pledge ended with the words:

"In the interest of plain justice and of sound political principles, I recommend the passage of an act by the present General Assembly granting Presidential suffrage to women."

The *Tribune* did not find all our men friends by a wide margin, but its faithful few are worthy of quotation:

GOVERNOR BEECKMAN'S POSITION

Gov. Beeckman, during the past week reiterated the sentiments contained in his inaugural message. Col. Samuel P. Colt, who represents the largest banking interests in Rhode Island, in response to a request for an expression of his views upon the subject said:

"I have your letter of Feb. 15th, asking an expression of my views as to giving women what you term 'Presidential Suffrage.' While there is much to be said on both sides of this most discussed and important problem, from what attention and thought I have been able to give the subject viewed from the standpoint of its being determined by each State for itself—I am in favor of what is termed Woman Suffrage."

Mayor Joseph H. Gainer of this city has long been considered an advocate of equal suffrage. When interviewed during the past week, however, and asked to state his views upon the matter, Mr. Gainer declined to say anything for publication. Senator Philip Wilbour, President of the Senate, is strongly in favor of the presidential suffrage bill. Congressman George F. O'Shaunessy has been a consistent supporter of the suffrage movement in the halls

of Congress at Washington, while former Gov. Lucius F. C. Garvin is a friend of long standing of the cause so dear to the suffragists. George W. Parks, Republican candidate for Mayor of Providence last fall, is a loyal advocate of woman suffrage.

THE SENATE'S LEADER

"I am ready to vote on the question now," said Senator Philip H. Willbourn of Little Compton, President of the Senate yesterday. I am in favor of the act now in the hands of the committee on special legislation of the Senate and I hope it will soon be reported back so that some action may be taken upon it. I shall vote for its passage."

Senator Clark Burdick of Newport, the Republican floor leader of the Senate echoed the sentiments expressed by his neighbor from Little Compton when asked to state his views upon the matter. "I am in favor of the act and I shall vote for it," he said.

Representative Richard W. Jennings of Cranston, the Republican floor leader in the House of Representatives is also a consistent advocate of the passage of the proposed legislation.

Mr. LeBaron C. Colt, General Manager of the National India Rubber Company of Bristol, one of the largest rubber factories in the country, employing about 3,000 people, said:

"I believe in equal suffrage for adult men and women. When we look back a century and note the wonderful advances made by womankind in all activities of life, and the broadening of all her spheres of influence; realizing also her progress has been marked for good and not for evil, and then think of her outlook for the future as she takes her place beside man in the management of the affairs of life, I am convinced that the attaining of the ballot is merely an incident in woman's progress and not an end.

"The mother is the primary influence in the bringing up of the child, and children reared by mothers who are conversant with and interested in the affairs of the nation will guarantee a future people better and more purely schooled in the welfare of our country, our State and community."

Col. Felix Wendelschaefer has no doubt whatsoever about the advisability of passing the legislation demanded by the women. Mr. Wendelschaefer is a prominent business man, identified for many years with local enterprises and of a progressive frame of mind. "I do not think that granting the right to women to vote for presidential electors would do anybody any harm," said the Colonel, yesterday. "On the contrary, I think that their participation in active political affairs would raise the tone of our local campaigns and would be beneficial to everybody concerned. I hope the act will pass."

MR. CHACE FAVORS IT

Mr. Arnold B. Chace, Chancellor of Brown University and representative of large mill interests, has no fear that woman suffrage would be detrimental either to the women themselves, to the State or to the city. He argues that many women are more fitted by education and temperament than many men to participate in the discussion of public affairs and he thinks that the least that men could do would be to allow the women to show by actual participation in such an election as that for presidential electors, that they are qualified to become real voters. "I hope the bill now before the General Assembly will be enacted into law," said Mr. Chace yesterday.

Richard B. Comstock, prominent lawyer and Democratic leader, is regarded by the women suffragists as peculiarly their friend. He was the first Democrat to come out publicly in favor of woman suffrage and he was largely responsible for the insertion of the woman suffrage plank in the Democratic State platform.

Col. Patrick H. Quinn, Democratic candidate for Governor at the last election, is also known to favor legislation along the lines suggested by the women and during the pre-election campaign declared himself publicly in favor of the extension of suffrage to women.

Col. Harold J. Gross, who probably represents the largest real estate interests in Rhode Island, is a woman suffrage advocate.

The *Tribune* man interviewed one of the most ardent supporters of the cause of equal suffrage in the person of Mr. Lewis Herreshoff of Bristol yesterday. Mr. Herreshoff has not recently become a supporter of equal rights and suffrage for all sexes, but has been an advocate, and a strong one at that, for many, many years. In discussing the matter yesterday, Mr. Herreshoff said:

MR. HERRESHOFF'S OPINION

"Men who are prominent in all the callings which attract men of active intelligence and who for the most part have only their love of the dictates of pure reason and justice to impel them to take the step are enrolling themselves on the side of equal suffrage. Among many of these men are those of an age where there is no impulse, no striving for notoriety. The lawyers have their positions, won by their knowledge and devotion to their calling. The politician finds that through women's votes if he is worthy to represent the people, and does it honestly and with all his ability, the increase of votes cast will assure his position.

"The promoter of industrial occupation finds that he stands where he must recognize the value of woman's work at the desk, at the loom, at the endless occupations suitable to the limitations of women, and that it is not only kind, but right and just, that they should be given the opportunities which men have in making

wise laws and seeing that they are enforced, and, in short, to promote purity and wisdom in all the diverse elements which form our governmental structure.

"These men have seen, and, indeed, all intelligent men must see, that during the last 75 years, and particularly in the last 25 years, that women have filled positions of trust, of honor, of vital importance to the growing generation in the rôles of teachers. And since our universities have been open to the opposite sex, the professions, which until lately were the sole field for men, now are creditably filled by women, and if progress in that line is to continue it will not be long before the two sexes will stand evenly facing the demands of medical practice, the administration of law and all the usual occupations which are demanded by any country in peace.

"Last, and by no means least, in summing up the motives which have brought these men to the side of equal suffrage, it is the sense of right and of pure justice. What right has a man to make laws and enforce them, and carry on all the functions of government when women are exactly as much concerned in the outcome as the men are? These men see that the woman of to-day is capable of most of the same duties which men have appropriated as their own province. Let reason and justice have a broader field and sway and then we shall be promoting peace and happiness in the great human family. Let us promote every feeling in the human heart that will widen the range of kindness toward every human being as well as to every living thing; and if that can be attained then we shall see the millennium that we hear will come some day in the future. Welcome to these men who promote our advance to such a position and let us hope to publish new recruits to the ranks of reason, justice and kindness."

Congressman Hobson speaking at Churchill House on Tuesday, February 23, 1915, gave his slant on the suffrage question, which proved interesting to prohibitionists and suffragists alike. The Hobson family will long remain in my mind by reason of the delightful companionship we enjoyed motoring back and forth across Rhode Island on his lecture tour. I wonder if they remember how our big touring car, with the Rookes, the Hobsons, Mr. Russell and myself, decided to go backward one slippery snowy night in the midnight hours in remote Pascoag, then hung suspended over a chasm while we all crawled gingerly out. The good Lord loves his own, Mr. Hobson! Not even the Merrimac was a closer shave than that.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE URGED BY HOBSON

CONGRESSMAN DECLARES IT NECESSARY TO AMERICAN LIFE

SPEAKS AT CHURCHILL HOUSE

Extension of Franchise to Women Would Appreciably Raise Standard of Character of Country's Electors, He Tells Big Audience. Resolutions Adopted by Meeting

Congressman Richmond P. Hobson told 400 men and women at the Churchill House yesterday afternoon that woman suffrage was necessary for the preservation and development of the best ideals of American life and government, and declared that the extension of the franchise to women would appreciably raise the standard of character of the electors of the country.

The influence of women's ballots, he said, would be strongly felt on all moral questions facing the country. Legislators would never give due consideration to woman and her interests, the speaker asserted, until woman had the vote to back up her beliefs.

A resolution urging the General Assembly to pass the bill granting presidential suffrage to the women of Rhode Island at its present session was presented at the meeting by Mrs. James W. Algeo, and was adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

Congressman Hobson was introduced by Mrs. George F. Rooke, President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. A reference by Mrs. Rooke to Mr. Hobson's fight for the adoption of the national prohibition amendment was greeted by enthusiastic applause from the audience, which filled the hall.

The subject of the Congressman's address was "The Nation's Need of Woman's Voice," and he said in part:

"Every real and fundamental institution among men has for its principal object the development of character. Character is the standard by which every policy and every act both of Government and of individuals, should be measured. The true test of woman suffrage is, would it have any bearing upon the development of character? To determine this it is necessary to know the general character of womankind.

RESTS ON CHARACTER

"The success of suffrage, as of all free institutions, rests solely upon the average standard of character of the elector. If the average standard of the voter be low, then you have the purchasable vote, at once the curse and the danger of the whole system of our Government. If you will study the history of suffrage in the

world, you will find that wherever it has failed it has been overthrown by the low standard of character of the elector.

"There can be no question among you that the character of woman is higher on the average than that of man. Woman has been the stronghold of moral forces since the beginning of human history. Suppose the vote was given to women on equal terms with man. What would be the result? It would be that the average standard of the character of the electors of our country would be materially raised.

"I have found some interesting statistics on crime. I have found that in a single year about 3,000 men in this country killed their wives. But I seldom hear of a wife killing her husband, though it is no secret that her temptation must often be stronger. I found that about 2,500 fathers in the country killed their own children in a year. How many mothers, do you suppose, killed their children during the same period?

"I found another fact. It was that in one year 16,000 men in this country deserted their helpless children. Further, it is an obvious fact that men do the drinking of the world and that women are abstainers. Our race owes its vitality almost solely to the fact that our mothers were sober.

STANDARD HIGHER

"Consequently, it is to be seen that if the franchise were given to woman, the average standard of character behind the votes of this country would be substantially higher than it is to-day. This is the vital argument. All other arguments favorable to woman suffrage are simply subordinate facts to fill in and complete the case for women. If you want the free institutions of our country to survive, give the vote to women.

"As a permanent working policy, you can only expect legislators to give due consideration to woman and her interests when woman has the vote to back up her beliefs. If you want the legislators of your city and State and nation truly to reflect the whole sentiment of the people on moral questions, the only way to do it is to give the vote to women.

"A just Government has a right to prescribe the qualifications for the franchise. The first qualification must, or should, always be character. A successful Government cannot enfranchise vice.

"This is a critical time for woman suffrage in this country. The joke stage has been passed. Any cause that can muster 137 votes in our national House of Representatives can no longer be laughed out of court. The day is coming, and it is not far distant, when women in America will have the franchise, and the whole nation will be the better for it."

Another great day long to be remembered in the annals of the suffrage cause came in the House hearing on our bill, Wednesday,

March 10, 1915. Through the energetic efforts of the Legislative Council, under Mrs. Jenks, the House was actually opened to the people for the first time since Elizabeth Buffum Chace had secured that privilege. The antis were out in full force. Congressman Mondell and Senator Works of California, came for the great occasion. I wish I could give every word of their excellent speeches but must content myself with but a portion. Wyoming and California were always willing to lend a helping hand to their sister "Little Rhody."

SENATOR WORKS INTRODUCED

United States Senator John D. Works of California was next introduced.

"I am here principally out of a sense of obligation I owe the women of California," he said, "I live in a State where women vote.

"Many misrepresentations have been made relative to woman suffrage in California. I know conditions there. I have been an earnest believer in woman suffrage for a good many years and supported it earnestly during the campaign for its passage.

"Our women secured the right of ballot, from the men. It was not legislation; it called for an amendment to the Constitution and this was submitted to the men. I am proud of the men who gave the women the right to help regulate the affairs of the State.

"The women should not ask for the ballot as a matter of privilege. I believe that they are entitled to it as a matter of absolute right. I will not talk of sentiment or appeal to your chivalry.

"You, as a judiciary committee, are going to consider the matter as lawmakers, and whether or not it is feasible to grant the ballot to women."

He told of the conditions numerically in California before and after women were enfranchised.

"It is said that women are too timid to vote, that it is an ordeal for them. After seeing conditions in California, I say that is not so. The uneducated, as well as educated, women vote intelligently in California.

"However, the greater number of women who vote live in refined residential sections."

"California is satisfied with woman suffrage. If an attempt was made to overthrow woman suffrage the attempt would overwhelmingly be defeated, not only by the women, but by the men, if they alone were to determine the matter.

PRAISES SUFFRAGE

"Woman suffrage is good for California. The instincts of women are good; they seek to maintain the right conditions. I

say in all humility they are beyond us men. The great problems of the country are not political questions—they are great moral, social, race questions, and questions of capital and labor. The women care for children. Who is more interested in public matters than the woman? Who is more likely to arrive at the right conclusion and to deal more fairly and justly than the women?

"There has never been any good reason presented, in my mind, why they should not vote. The idea that woman would be lowered in her own estimation or in that of anyone else by becoming an American citizen is erroneous. Some say that the women are too good to be American citizens. If our politics are so corrupt that it will degrade women to vote—if that is true—in the politics of the State or country, it is time for the men to step aside and let the women run things for a time."

Frank W. Mondell, Congressman for Wyoming, followed the Senator. He told of conditions in his State and the effect of woman suffrage in his Commonwealth.

"There is not a dissenting voice regarding women suffrage in my State," he said. "It is easier to enforce the laws when women vote. It is said women are conservative, but they are intelligently conservative. They are always for and behind legislation that is for the interest of the community, and after laws are written on the statute books the women see that they are obeyed."

"We of the West think of New England as the cradle of the republic. We look for you to advance in all movements for the interest and help of the country. We look for Providence to take this forward step and give women the right to vote."

Mrs. Jenks spoke for five minutes in conclusion for those favoring woman suffrage. She told of clubs, organizations and associations which have indorsed the movement.

In spite of editorials in behalf of the bill, public opinion expressed in no doubtful terms, and herculean efforts on the part of its faithful supporters, the woman suffrage measure again went down to defeat Thursday, March 25, 1915, on the roll call vote, 65-31. Again the machine had blocked the will of the people of Rhode Island.

My next note is upon the Woman Suffrage Party Convention, May 1, 1915. Here more troubles began for we find the suffragists divided upon "To Amalgamate" or "Not to Amalgamate" the three organizations; the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association, the College Equal Suffrage League and the Rhode Island Woman's Party. I disapproved of closer amalgamation for two reasons: first, I felt that the integrity of the organizations should not be tampered with by change of name. The old association

with its noble traditions should keep its name to the end; and the others, I felt, should hold to the special purpose for which they had been created; second, I saw no suitable leader in sight. As distinctive bodies we had filled our allotted places: as one body there would be friction. However, as Mr. Algeo and I were going to California for a four months' vacation, I felt helpless to combat what proved to be the will of the majority.

For the first time we had an opportunity to test the much vaunted western hospitality and it exceeded our wildest expectations. We met friends all along the line. My suffrage badge was like a Masonic emblem in the numerous "Votes for Women" headquarters we visited. Mr. M. S. Dwyer of the *Tribune* gave me a letter to his fellow journalists which secured us membership in the International Association of Journalists, then meeting at San Francisco, in connection with the exposition. In Leadville, Colorado, Mr. Dickerman and Joe Clarke took us through the Ibex mine from which \$60,000,000 in gold had been taken—an experience which they told me, was being denied to most women on account of their voluminous clothing. While away I had letters from two of our best women saying that the suffrage work in Rhode Island had slowed up; that the name "Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association" had been adopted; that practically all the officers of the old association had been retained and that the name of the Woman Suffrage Party was fast becoming a thing of the past. I was too busy at the Exposition and visiting with California suffragists, among whom I remember Anita Whitney, Estelle Lawton Lindesay and our good friend Alice Park best, to worry much about Rhode Island affairs just then. When I returned, however, in October and found that there seemed to be no place in the new organization for some of our best workers, that I seemed to be no longer welcomed in the new group and when we realized that the goal was yet far distant, some of us decided to organize another society to be known as the Rhode Island Suffrage Party, which promptly joined the National American Suffrage Association, on the invitation of Mrs. Catt.

As it is my most earnest desire to make this an impartial history of the suffrage movement in Rhode Island, I am again availing myself of the generous permission of Mrs. Harper and giving the conclusion of Miss Yates' chapter on Rhode Island in the History of Woman Suffrage, beginning with the time of the amalgamation:

RHODE ISLAND

The joint endeavors of the three organizations this winter proving successful they amalgamated under the name of the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association and the annual meeting was changed from fall to spring. Most of the officers of the State association were retained. Others were Miss Emerson and Mrs. Carl Barus, vice-presidents; Mrs. John A. Cross, treasurer; Mrs. Barton A. Ballou, Mrs. Gerald A. Cooper and Mrs. Gilbert C. Carpenter, auditors; Mrs. Dunbar and Mrs. Helen Dougherty, chairman and secretary of the Woman Suffrage Party. In accordance with the plan of the National Association, the State's members of Congress, U. S. Senators LeBaron B. Colt and Henry F. Lippitt; Representatives Walter R. Stiness, George F. O'Shaughnessy and Ambrose Kennedy, were interviewed on the Federal Amendment with encouraging results. Weekly suffrage teas were established at headquarters during the winter, followed by addresses on current topics. The association was especially indebted to Mrs. Ballou, Mrs. Edward M. Harris and Miss Sarah J. Eddy for the hospitality of their homes that combined on many occasions social pleasure with excellent opportunity to present the suffrage cause.

On February 17, 1916, a luncheon and conference at the Narragansett Hotel were held in honor of Mrs. Catt, now national president. A mass meeting was held in March in Sayles Hall, where Mrs. Glendower Evans of Boston and Professor Louis J. Johnston of Harvard spoke in the interest of the Federal Amendment. In April a "suffrage shop" was opened in Providence in charge of Miss Mary B. Anthony, which proved an active center of propaganda. Rhode Island was represented in the suffrage parades during the national political conventions in Chicago and St. Louis in 1916 by Miss Yates. On election night in November a public reception was held at suffrage headquarters, where a private wire had been installed to give the returns and large numbers were present.

In 1917 Miss Yates conducted a suffrage school weekly at headquarters during February and March. The major activities of the year were given to legislative work. The granting of Presidential suffrage to women by the Legislature was celebrated at the annual meeting, at which Governor R. Livingston Beeckman, representatives of the political parties of the State and Mrs. Nettie Rogers Shuler, national corresponding secretary, were the principal speakers. An invitation was accepted from Thomas W. Bicknell, one of the staunchest suffragists, to unite with the Citizens' Historical Association, of which he was president, in a joint celebration of the Declaration of Independence by Rhode Island on May 4, 1776, and the passage of the Presidential suffrage bill in April, 1917, and Miss Yates was chosen as speaker

for the State association. Miss Elizabeth M. Barr was elected treasurer in 1917 and served until 1920. Miss Barr's predecessors were Miss Mary K. Wood, Mrs. Jewett, Mrs. Ballou, Mrs. Helen N. B. Janes, Mrs. Porter, Mrs. Cross, and Mrs. George W. Parks.

During the winter of 1918, a civics course was conducted by Miss Anthony covering local and national government, Mayor Joseph H. Gainer of Providence and other city officers speaking in the course. Miss Anthony was elected State president at the annual meeting in June and brought to the office experience in public work and wide social influence that were of special value in the closing years of the association. Mrs. Jenks was made honorary president. On December 11 the 50th anniversary of the association was celebrated. An interesting historical review of the first meeting was given by Arnold Buffum Chace, who had acted as secretary on that occasion and whose mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chace, was president of the association for thirty years. The Rev. Mrs. Spencer, also a charter member, recounted the early struggles of the pioneers. Miss Yates and Mrs. Jenks gave interesting accounts of the early and later work. Mrs. Catt and Miss Blackwell were guests of honor and brought inspiring messages. This year both the Democratic and Republican parties put suffrage planks in their State platforms and sent resolutions to Congress urging the Rhode Island Senators to support the Federal Amendment.

The suffragists responded to every demand of the Government for war service. Mrs. Walter A. Peck, honorary vice-president, was State chairman of the Woman's Committee of the Liberty Loan. Miss Emerson, first vice-president, served in France with the Bryn Mawr unit. Miss Bauer, second vice-president, was a member of the executive board of the Red Cross. Mrs. Fittz, corresponding secretary, and Miss Yates, honorary president, received government certificates as speakers with the "four-minute men."

In 1919 Miss Frances E. Lucas, chairman of the Civics Committee, gave a course of lectures on social and political problems, which were largely attended. Miss Avis Hawkins, chairman on schools, perfected an organization throughout the State to advance the interests of both pupils and teachers. On May 27 the Woman's College and the State Association commemorated the centenary of the birth of Julia Ward Howe, in Pembroke Hall of the college. At the annual meeting on June 4 Miss Anthony was re-elected president. Mrs. Raymond Brown, national vice-president, gave an interesting address. The occasion was made memorable by the passing of the resolution for the Federal Amendment by the U. S. Senate while the convention was in session. The entire Rhode Island delegation in both Houses of Congress voted in favor, the only eastern State except Maine to have this record. In October Miss Anthony called a meeting of



LORD AND LADY ABERDEEN

the presidents of all the women's organizations of the State in the interests of social betterment, which resulted in the foundation of the Civics Coöperative Council, and Mrs. Nancy M. Schoonmaker was engaged to give a course of lectures on Citizenship.¹



*From your friend,
Laura Clay,
Lexington, Ky.*

¹ In addition to those already mentioned, the following have been officers or members of the State Executive Committees: Mrs. Ellen M. Calder, Mrs. Elizabeth Ormsbee, Mrs. Fanny Purdy Palmer, Mrs. Ora A. Angell, Mrs. Sarah M. Aldrich, Mrs. Betsy A. Stearns, Miss Mary K. Conington, Mrs. Annie B. Jackson, Mrs. Catherine G. Wilbur, Mrs. Clara F. Delaney, Mrs. Myra Phinney, Miss S. Arvilla Jewett, Mrs. Amy E. Harris, Miss Katherine H. Austin, Mrs. Josephine Fry, Miss Eleanor B. Green, Mrs. Margaret C. Edgren, Mrs. Victor Frazee, Mrs. Anna B. Kroener, Miss Abby P. Gardiner, Mrs. William H. Adams, Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, Mrs. Job Manchester, Mrs. William A. H. Comstock, Miss Mabel Orgelman, Mrs. Edwin C. Smith, Mrs. Ava C. Minsher, Mrs. Fred S. Fenner, Mrs. Clarence Fuller, Mrs. Frank A. Jackson, Miss Sarah E. Doyle, Mrs. Alfred M. Coats, Miss Ellen G. Hunt and Mrs. Charles Remington.

To these should be added a list of men to whom the workers are deeply indebted.



WOMAN'S REGISTRATION DAY, JULY 1, 1920

LIBERTY

Rhode Island, the Spirit of Liberty stands
 Welcoming Thee with outstretched hands;
 Saying, to Thee is given to share
 The greatest gift her arms can bear:

An equal gift to women and men
 To share in life's work with tongue and pen;
 To carry into the public mart
 The father's strength and the mother's heart.

Take it, this precious ballot for both,
 Use it in future, nothing loth
 To prove to our neighbors, East and West,
 That Rhode Island Women can stand the test.

RHODE ISLAND

Rhody, youngest of the old thirteen,
 Takes thy gift with shining mien.
 The battle's fought, the victory's won;
 Sons and daughters now are one.
 Heavens shall bless in freedom's cause
 Equal rights with equal laws.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

In the fall of 1915 Mrs. Sara M. Algeo reorganized the Woman Suffrage Party as an independent body and began a vigorous campaign for civic betterment and political education. Miss Mary E. McDowell of Chicago and Miss Margaret Foley of Boston addressed large audiences. Its policy was to invite the fullest coöperation of colored women and a meeting was held at which Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette spoke to a large audience of both colored and white women on their common need of full citizenship at First Baptist Church.

In 1916 the endorsement of the State conference of Congregational Churches was secured. A civic forum was organized in Providence, holding Sunday afternoon meetings in a theater. Among the eminent speakers were Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Thomas Mott Osborne, Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Mary Antin and Mrs. Nellie McClung of Canada. The same line of work was followed elsewhere in the State. A suffrage class was established at the Young Men's Christian Association. Miss Laura Clay of Kentucky gave ten days of helpful service.

In 1917 Mrs. LeBaron B. Colt of Bristol was appointed treasurer of the Women's Oversea Hospitals conducted by the National Suffrage Association and with the assistance of Mrs. Algeo and the party \$3,000 were raised. After the passage of the Presidential suffrage bill in 1917 the party specialized in training for citizenship and conducted a campaign in naturalization in conjunction with the Americanization Committee of the National Association. In the fall under the direction of Mrs. Frederick H. Bagley of Boston, its chairman, efforts were made to secure from the Legislature an Americanization bill providing compulsory education for immigrants and also for a director of Americanization on the Board of Education, which was passed in 1919. Mrs. Agnes M. Bacon was appointed by the Governor.

In 1919 Mrs. Algeo compiled and published *Suggestions to the Women Voters of Rhode Island*, of which 10,000 copies were circulated. July 1, being the first day of registration for the elections of the following year, she organized a state-wide campaign for the registration of women for using the presidential vote. It was celebrated in Providence by an imposing ceremony on the steps of the City Hall at noon, and in the evening by a banquet, at which Mrs. Charles H. Brooks of Kansas, national chairman of the League of Women Voters, and Mrs. Charles Tiffany of New York were the principal speakers.

Before continuing with Miss Yates' excellent description of the Legislative action taken by Rhode Island suffragists I desire to interpolate a few additional touches in regard to the work of the Woman Suffrage Party. In addition to the civic forum in Provi-

dence, one was conducted in Bristol the following winter, 1917, through the efforts of Mrs. LeBaron C. Colt and other Bristol workers. Such speakers as Mrs. Glendower Evans, Mary Antin, Theodore Francis Green, Granville Standish, and Mrs. Thomas L. Curtis of Boston, are gratefully remembered. The People's Forum lent itself to our cause for many years and its large and enthusiastic,—sometimes, boisterous,—audience was a source of inspiration to all speakers. We owed this opportunity to a large extent to Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, one of the warmest friends of woman's rights for more than thirty years.

It would hardly be fair to omit from a story like this the really important part played by our two little dogs, Suffrage and Prohibition.



MRS. ALGEO WITH SUFFRAGE AND PROHIBITION

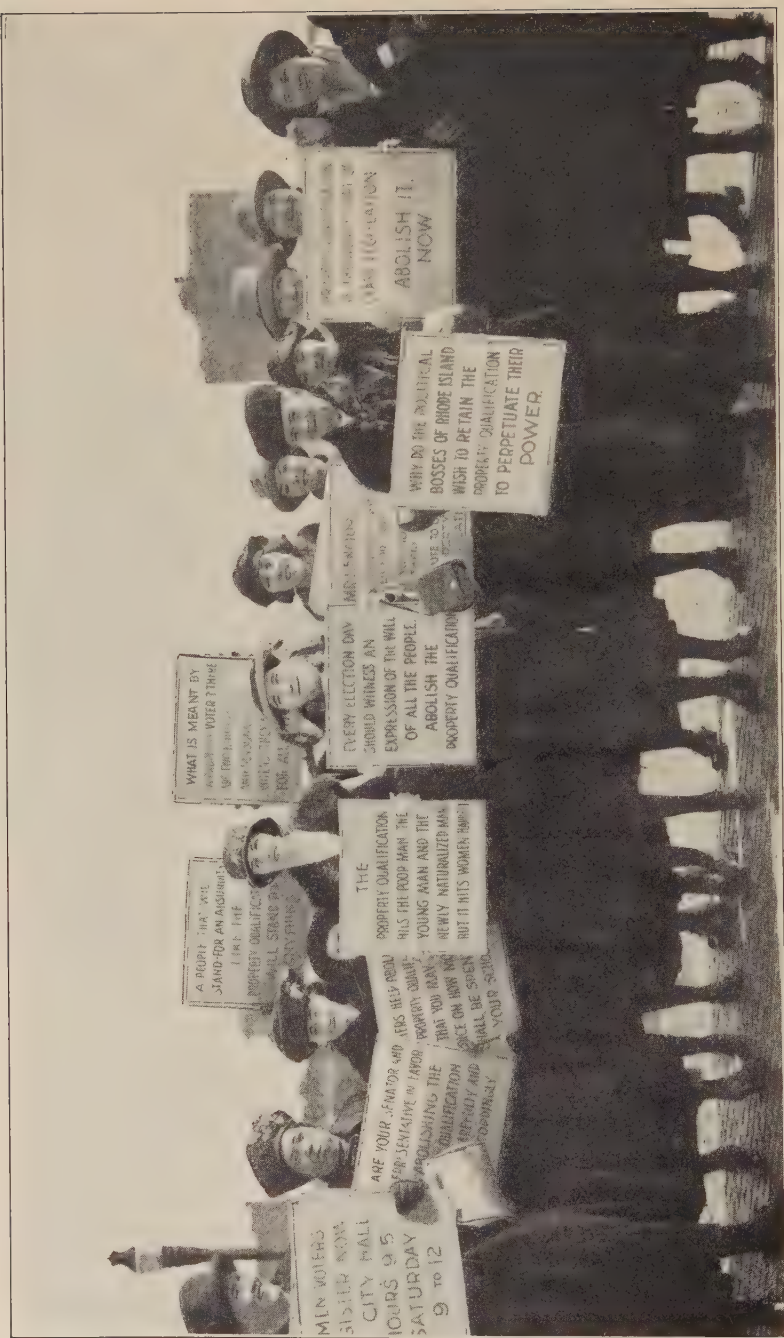
Just before the passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill Mrs. George F. Rooke, President of the W. C. T. U., presented the Algeo family with two handsome puppies, which one Sunday afternoon, at her home in East Providence, we named Suffrage

and Prohibition. These two little dogs came to be welcome members of our family, at all times worthy of the great reforms they signified; they were such a splendid advertisement for both causes; their wonderful pedigree was explained to countless children and grown folks and the meaning of suffrage and prohibition in connection with these two winning dachshunds took on an added romance.



SUFFRAGE AND PROHIBITION WERE POPULAR IN THE ALGEO FAMILY

After the passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill we established citizenship courses in many churches, working on the supposition that full suffrage was imminent and every opportunity should be seized for preparing women for their new duties and responsibilities. These classes continued with unabated vigor until registration time, July 1, 1919, when we turned our attention to getting the women out to register. At this time also we turned our energy to the abolition of the property qualification. The retention of a property qualification in Rhode Island has been



SOME ARGUMENTS FOR ABOLISHING THE PROPERTY QUALIFICATION

considered somewhat of a joke both within and without the State. It seemed to many of the late suffragists as to those of an earlier day an undemocratic discrimination against the rights of citizens of a republic. It looks now as though the time is near when this unseemly anachronism may be consigned to the dump of useless and antiquated laws where it properly belongs.

In accord with the policy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association all suffragists turned their force to some form of war work. The Woman's Suffrage Party assumed what seemed the well-nigh impossible task of raising \$3,000 toward the Women's Oversea Hospitals. That we accomplished this was due to the energy and will power of our workers. While some few contributions were received at the beginning almost all the money was raised by selling candy. Tag days were frowned upon for other than local objects though we did have one in Woonsocket, so a group of us would meet in our kitchen on Angell Street, make large lots of candy, dainty baskets as containers, then go out on the streets in groups and sell these little baskets of sweets for 10c each. It was an heroic thing for the women to do and deserves place in this record. Mrs. LeBaron Carleton Colt and I went about giving knitting parties; she taught knitting and I talked Americanization. These parties became quite popular.

Uncle Sam (Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell) and the Goddess of Liberty (Mrs. Sara M. Algeo) helped in the Liberty Loan drives as the very interesting pictures preserved in my scrap book from that tumultuous time testify. The sailors helped us and seemed to enjoy acting as our daily escort from City Hall to the Hindenburg line. It was during one of these drives that many of us saw for the last time the well-loved face of Col. Roosevelt, the picture of whom as he appeared that day I have fortunately preserved.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION. After the defeat of a woman suffrage amendment to the State constitution in 1887 and the refusal of the Legislatures afterwards to submit it again the association decided to follow the advice of Henry B. Blackwell and try to obtain a vote for presidential electors, which could be granted by a law. The proposition, first made in 1892, met with practically no support among the legislators and finally further attempts to secure it were discontinued for years. At the annual meeting of 1902 an address by Mr. Blackwell resulted in a resumption of efforts to secure this law and in 1903 a petition to the Legislature,



A LIBERTY LOAN DRIVE

signed by influential men and women, accompanied a bill introduced in the Senate. A hearing was given but it was not reported from committee.

In 1904 the bill was presented in the House and Senate and reported favorably but defeated in both branches.

In 1905 there was increased activity to secure favorable action on the bill. A little paper called *The Woman Citizen* was issued as a campaign document and a copy of it placed on the desk of every legislator.¹ The *Remonstrance*, a small paper published by the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association followed, protesting against it. The merits of the bill were presented at a well attended hearing but no action was taken on it.



UNCLE SAM AND HIS RETINUE

In 1906 a Senate hearing was given on the bill, addressed by Mr. Blackwell. It was reported without recommendation and ably debated. Senator Walter R. Stiness made a strong speech in its support and it passed by 29 ayes, 7 noes. In the House the bill was referred to the Committee on Special Legislation. Long petitions from prominent voters were presented asking that it be reported but General Charles R. Brayton, the Republican "boss" who for years controlled the Legislature, seeing the strong sentiment in its favor would not permit it to come to a vote. He admitted that he feared it would help the Democratic party.

In 1907 the battle for the bill was renewed and among the petitioners was Governor James H. Higgins. At two largely

¹ The *Woman Citizen* was edited and published for ten years by Mrs. Jeannette French, and was a valuable contribution to the movement for woman suffrage.



WE SEE COL. ROOSEVELT FOR THE LAST TIME

attended hearings nearly every person gave a rising vote in favor. Mrs. Charles Warren Lippitt and Mrs. Edward Johnson protested against women being allowed to vote for President and Rowland Hazard supported them. The bill was defeated, though not by them but by political opposition.

In 1909 Mr. Blackwell appeared for the last time as the advocate of the measure. Like a seer he pleaded for it, the significance and potency of which he grasped far in advance of his contemporaries. Miss Yates was appointed his successor as the National Association's chairman of Presidential suffrage, which position he had filled for many years.

In 1911 the Presidential suffrage bill was introduced in the Senate and referred to the Committee on Special Legislation, that limbo of lost causes. The suffragists rallied for a hearing and succeeded in getting it reported without recommendation. When taken from the calendar the Senators seemed to realize for the first time that they were dealing with a live issue. One of them demanded to know why that bill was permitted to waste their valuable time and threw it on the floor and stamped on it, saying: "I will kill woman suffrage." It was then buried by a vote of 29 noes and 3 ayes. The suffragists passed out from the obsequies with full faith in the resurrection.

In 1913 a commission was appointed to revise the State constitution and an appeal to it was made for a woman suffrage clause. A hearing was given; influential men supported the association; the women "antis" made a touching plea to be spared from the burden of the ballot, but the constitution was not revised. This year the Legislature of Illinois passed a bill for Presidential suffrage, which attracted wide attention. The Rhode Island association continued to present one every year. Sometimes zealous friends would introduce a resolution for a constitutional amendment but it was not endorsed by the State association as it would require a three-fifths majority of the voters.

In 1915 Governor R. Livingston Beeckman recommended Presidential suffrage for women in his message and the use of the hall of the House of Representatives in the new State House was for the first time granted for a hearing. Mrs. Agnes M. Jenks, State president, secured Senator John D. Works of California and Representative Frank W. Mondell of Wyoming to speak on the practical effects of woman suffrage in their States. Mrs. A. J. George came from Brookline, Mass., to voice the fears of the "antis." Notwithstanding the hearing surpassed in attendance and interest any that session the bill was indefinitely postponed by a House vote of 61 ayes and 31 noes. An active lobby was maintained and every available influence brought to bear to get the bill on the Senate calendar but it was killed in committee.

Between the close of this Legislature and the opening of the one of 1917 unforeseen events caused a marked change in the attitude

of Rhode Island politicians. Its delegates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions in 1916 had recognized the party expediency which compelled a plank in the national platforms in favor of woman suffrage and voted for it. At the Republican State convention in September U. S. Senator LeBaron B. Colt, who had been non-committal on the question, came out with a decisive pronouncement in its favor. The Republicans saw the handwriting on the wall. They recognized that the votes of western women had re-elected President Wilson. For the first time since the Republican party was organized, a Democratic U. S. Senator was elected. Both parties were on the alert for any issue that might bring reinforcements.

Once more Presidential suffrage was the objective and Governor Beeckman repeated his endorsement. The bill was introduced in the Senate Feb. 8, 1917. The association's Legislative Committee worked without ceasing. The suffragists throughout the State were well organized and loyally backed the committee. Petitions, letters and telegrams showered the legislators. The endorsement of the Republican State Committee was secured. Meanwhile the Legislatures in half a dozen States granted Presidential suffrage. The time had come for Rhode Island. On April 11 the bill passed the Senate by 32 ayes, 3 noes. There was an organized attempt to defeat it in the House by one for a referendum to the voters but by the efforts of Richard W. Jennings and Daniel E. Geary, Republican and Democratic floor leaders, it was defeated. On April 17, after four hours' debate in the presence of hundreds of women, the bill passed by 71 ayes, 20 noes. This was the fifteenth time it had been before the Legislature. On April 18 it was signed by the Governor.

RATIFICATION. As soon as the Federal Amendment was submitted by Congress, June 4, 1919, the suffrage organizations began to ask for a special session of the Legislature for ratification but it was deemed best by Governor Beeckman for various reasons to wait until the regular session in January, 1920. Several days before it met the chairman of the Republican State Committee, Joseph P. Burlingame, made the announcement that by a suspension of the rules and contrary to every precedent ratification would be accomplished on the first day. The longed-for day, January 6, dawned clear and cold. Women thronged the Capitol and filled the galleries of the House, except the section which was occupied by the Governor's party, who had come to witness the final scene in a fifty years' drama. After summoning the Senate to meet with the House in Grand Committee, the Governor read his annual message in which he recommended immediate ratification of the amendment, "as an act of justice long delayed." The resolution was at once presented and the floor leaders of both parties, William R. Fortin of Pawtucket, Republican, and William S. Flynn of Providence, Democrat, spoke in favor. It was passed

on roll call by 89 ayes, 3 noes—Speaker Arthur P. Sumner of Providence, William H. Thayer of Bristol and Albert R. Zurlinden of Lincoln. A rush was made by the audience across the corridors to the Senate Chamber, where action was even more rapid. Lieutenant Governor Emery J. San Souci, a friend of woman suffrage, was in the chair and within a few moments, with no speeches, the resolution was passed by viva voce vote with but one dissenting voice, that of John H. McCabe of Burrillville. The following day it was signed by Governor Beeckman, not that this was necessary, but he wished to give it his approval.

The great event was celebrated in the evening by a brilliant banquet given by the Providence League of Women Voters at which the work of the pioneers was especially featured.

On May 17, 1920, the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association concluded its work. A procession of women marched through the streets of Providence carrying the records of the organization for fifty years, which were deposited in the archives of the State House with impressive ceremony.¹

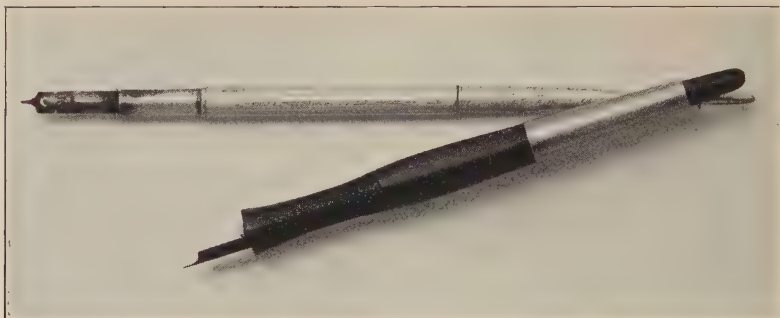
Among the nerve centers of suffrage activity in Rhode Island the Newport County Woman Suffrage League had a definite place from its founding in 1908, by Miss Cora Mitchell, its first president. The League's work was at first largely carried on by an active group of philanthropic women of Bristol Ferry, Miss Mitchell's friends and neighbors, among whom were Miss Sarah J. Eddy, Mrs. John Eldredge and Mrs. Barton Ballou. Gradually the suffrage agitation spread over the entire island, which includes the three townships of Portsmouth, Middletown and Newport. In Middletown the league's work was ably carried on by Mrs. Eugene Sturtevant and her daughters. All rendered priceless service to what was then an unpopular and unfashionable cause.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe was present at the first meeting and as long as she lived took great interest in its work. This interest was inherited by her daughters, Mrs. Maud Howe Elliott and Mrs. Florence Howe Hall. The summer meetings were sometimes held at Oak Glen, Portsmouth, Mrs. Howe's country home, and here on soft June afternoons the veteran suffrage workers and the young neophytes destined to carry on their work rejoiced in coming together. On one occasion a young stranger was noticed in the audience who followed the proceedings with breathless interest. Soon afterwards Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse of New York began her fine service for suffrage, which was continued until the victory was won in that State.

¹ At the next Democratic State convention Miss Elizabeth Upham Yates received the nomination for Lieutenant Governor amid great enthusiasm. She was termed "a student of sociology, missionary leader, prophet and dreamer, whose dreams have come true."—Ed.

Many of the most distinguished speakers ever heard in Newport came under the auspices of this league. Among the active workers were Mrs. Walter Wright, secretary and treasurer; Miss Elizabeth Peckham, Mrs. Oscar Miller, Mrs. Bertram Storrs and many others, and among the faithful members Admiral and Mrs. Sims rendered "aid and comfort" beyond belief in those days when it took some courage in fashionable Newport to "come out" for woman suffrage!

[The long and interesting account of this league must be omitted because space can be given only to national and State organizations.]



PENS USED IN SIGNING THE PRESIDENTIAL AND
RATIFICATION MEASURES

CHAPTER XVI

THE WOMAN'S PARTY

To Rhode Island the dominating figure throughout the troubled history of the Congressional Union and the National Woman's Party has been that of Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont. Whether at Marble House, her home at Newport, or in New York, her words and deeds are always watched with interest. Mrs. Belmont allied herself with the suffrage movement when the need was great. Society, laggard as always, was sitting in the seat of the scornful when Mrs. Belmont came boldly forth, the financial Champion of "Woman's Rights." Her own words of her conversion and adoption of this reform as her life work are the best witness to the seriousness with which she regarded it. I give *in toto* her statement in *The World To-day*, October, 1911, on why she became a Suffragist:

WHY I AM A SUFFRAGIST

BY

MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT

President of the Equal Suffrage League

Some of us blunder blindly through all our lives and pass out with dormant perceptions; others of us come at the day of awakening to the realities, and thereafter accept as serious evils to be combated certain conditions which have come to our notice. Rank, station, or situation does not change the great vital source of life—the human heart. The wife of the multi-millionaire and the peasant woman of Italy, carrying a basket of stones upon her head, have, could they but find it, a common ground.

To those who have been "worldly fortunate" a perception of this common ground is rendered more difficult because, as a matter of truth, they are most unfortunate. The hard-working peasant woman foot- and shoulder-sore, staggering 'neath her burden, looks with envy upon her more fortunate sister who passes by with all the outward show of happiness and leisure. The woman in the automobile but too frequently looks upon the toiler and envies her for her very delinquencies.

If I may be pardoned for speaking of myself, I must say that it took me many years to find that there was work for me to do. I had had what the world calls the "advantages" of travel. It was these, more than any other reasons, I believe, which brought me



to my life's task. And the elevation of one's sisters to a broad and level ground of humanity is, after all, a life task and something more—a work which would continue, with ample field for endeavor, were every mooted question of the present settled in the most satisfactory way. Humanity is so broad that its perfection may never be attained.

In world journeyings I observed this: that there was something wrong in the conditions whenever sex interposed. The women of France are consulted by their husbands on nearly every affair of life, yet, aside from suggestion, they have no directing voice. There, as in this country, they are called the "weaker sex;" the weakness must therefore be a physical one. The women of Italy are not referred to as the "weaker sex," because in that country the drudgery is performed by them; where a man and woman are carriers of burdens the woman most frequently bears the heavier load; yet, here again, the woman is permitted small voice in any momentous affair. In America, where the "weaker sex" idea again prevails, woman's activity has been confined to her home or to social duties which conditions have driven upon her un-murmuringly to accept. She has no latitude for a broader activity and, until a comparatively recent date, might witness a boundless corruption of affairs in general without having any possible hand in the tearing down of those corruptions.

NO WOMAN CAN BE IDLE

It is a mistake to believe that any woman, no matter what her financial condition of life, can lead an idle existence. It is merely a question of the worthiness of her activities. There are those who would say that my occupations, for many years, were worthless. There are others who, with equal emphasis, would declare that my present work is equally foolish. To neither one nor the other do I make excuse. I say merely this: that I have entered into the battle for woman suffrage, fighting, as best I may, for what seems to me the most worthy cause at hand. Not all the warriors of the world who have couched a lance have been men. Jeanne d'Arc's sword of flame was no less valiant or effective than that of the most worthy knight who followed her white banner.

Do not mistake from what I have said that I am trying to surround the fight for woman's suffrage with any tinsel glory, for the battle is nothing but prosaic. Its victories are uncrowned by visible wreaths of green; the only glory that may come to the conqueror in this cause is the self-satisfaction of knowing that he or she has done something for the uplift. To have lightened but one woman's load of weariness would be for me better—far better—than to have conquered a kingdom.

When it dawned upon me that there was some serious humanitarian niche in life which I, with my opportunities, might fill, it

was not a matter which I could decide in a day—the direction of my endeavor. Other of my personal acquaintances, with money at their command, had gone into the slums, and I assure you that many of them did ameliorate the hardships of those among whom they worked, until here and there the eddy widened to a whirlpool. In some cases their work was blotted out; in other cases it lasted long after the pomp and sorrowful panoply of their funerals had passed from the public mind. So, in the end, after much deliberation, I was forced to the conclusion that the uplifting of the slums could, at best, be but ephemeral unless the very conditions which created the slums were overcome. It was plain to see that, through all time, the general trend of men had been for a developing and constantly improving form of government. That the government was not ideal was proof that one-half of the human race was, in itself, incompetent to achieve perfection. Through all time men have needed women to attain the perfection of home. Why, then, could the one sex hope to achieve perfection of government—to govern both sexes, mind you—unaided by the other sex? The masculine mind has certain masculine strength of directness and force. The feminine mind is gifted with certain delicacies of perception and intuitive forms of reasoning which the masculine mind lacks. A far higher intelligence than either man or woman ever possessed has immutably decreed that what one lacks the other must supply. The perfection of American homes is due only to the fact that they have been jointly created, jointly developed, and jointly administered. So, thus reasoning and striving to do the best I might, in my way, for the common good, and seeking an avenue for my efforts, I chose the cause of equal suffrage.

WOMAN'S INTERESTS AT STAKE

It appeared to me that equal suffrage presented an exceptional field for the very reason that the woman is equally responsible with the man for the ethical atmosphere of the home, and, therefore, should be equally responsible with him for the outside environment which makes that home possible. By that I mean, Government itself. Consider for a moment, if you will, that at present the larger part of a man's time, thought, and labor is given to business, to keeping the roof over the family, the food, clothing, and other necessities supplied and the taxes paid. To the mother falls the supervision of the education of her children, but she has no direct voice in all questions pertaining to the schools. It is the mother who must look after the children after school hours, but she has no control over neighboring conditions where her children pass the greater part of their idle time. She cannot direct the cleanliness of the streets, nor have a voice as to the proximity of saloons and undesirable resorts. She cannot name a sanitary

inspector, a milk or food inspector, or even have a voice as to the sanitation of the water which passes through her home. A man leaves it to the woman, quite largely, to see that his home is healthful and his children moral. How can she accomplish these things unless she is given a voice in the creation of laws and the enforcement of laws which are to bring about the necessary surrounding condition for this healthfulness and morality?

There are unvoiced sufferings of unfranchised women in every large city in America, which would swell into a heartbreaking chorus did they become audible. Did it ever strike you how helpless you would feel if your boys and girls, at a most peculiarly receptive age, were compelled, each evening upon returning from school, to pass a string of grogeries from which issued nothing but vile examples of conduct and speech, over whose eradication or control you had no voice?

ARE MEN ALONE DISCERNING?

It is such an old platitude that the strength of a nation depends upon its citizenship! Why should men arrogate to themselves the sole right to formulate that citizenship? Are the women of this country any less discerning or competent to judge of what it takes to make a good man or a good woman? Can they do their full share toward making good men and good women of their sons and daughters without being given some voice as to what environment shall surround them?

I had these things to ponder over when I chose what must inevitably be my best life work. There is not a mother in the so-called Four Hundred to-day who has not the same problems to face; nor is there a mother in the slums who can shirk that same responsibility.

There is no more cruel fallacy of democratic government than that all men are born free and equal. Men and women are equal only when their opportunities for doing good are equal. A man or woman who has ten times the opportunity of doing good than his next-door neighbor has is just tenfold responsible to government for his or her exercise of that privilege. If government is good only for the good of humanity, then he, or she, is responsible to humanity itself in just that diverse proportion. When I think of dawdled opportunities so freely given through birth to so many that I have known, I admit to a certain rebellion of heart. Don't think I am carping at the Four Hundred, Mister or Miss Reader, any more than I am at you. If you yourself have conscientiously done all the good you can for your fellows in this world, you are a wonder. I don't believe you can go calmly into a quiet room for the next half-hour after reading this and come out truthfully feeling that you have done half as much good as you might have done had you tried with all your might. If you can you are

happier than almost any man or woman you may meet within the following half-hour.

WOMEN NEED TO PROTECT THEMSELVES

Quite thoughtfully I enlisted my best in the cause of equal suffrage. I knew that any woman who is exceptional in wealth, social position, or unusual ability has many ways of achievement. But the task before me I speedily saw was not confined so much to the few fortunate ones enumerated as to the great body of average women, one different from the other only in possibility. One and all, the highest and the lowest, have a common ground in individual responsibility.

In almost every occupation in which women are engaged they need the power of suffrage to protect those interests which concern them and which are a part of their every-day lives and occupations. The school-teacher is a conspicuous instance; but, after all, her individual responsibility is no greater than that of the club-woman or church-woman. The woman who pays taxes without representation has no more crying need for a voice in government than the shop-girl who, on her homeward way, sees a neighbor's child going to the bad through ill-regulated environment. Don't you suppose that the tired little shop-girl often wishes, as she travels homeward, that she might have a voice in the conditions and regulations of streets and transportation which she must use? Don't you suppose that she is weary of the continued revelations of mismanagement by public boards from which her sex is rigidly excluded? There are very few women living who have no opinions worth while, yet these opinions are never deferred to at election, or any other time. The finest intelligence of your daughter, Mr. Father, trained with your utmost care, cannot have as much potency on election day as the alien who came here a few years ago, and, although he may not read and write, has the privilege of a vote. If you are willing to admit that your daughter, born, reared, and educated in this country, has not as much judgment as that alien who cannot read and write, then woman suffrage is not going to appeal to you. You talk about corruption in politics. Whose vote would you try to buy first? The alien's, or your daughter's? Which one is more purchasable? It strikes one as exceedingly humorous that away back there in our grandest days of national patriotism Molly Stark could fight for the country, but was denied the privilege of voting for its first President. Are there no Molly Starks to-day?

THE VOTER AND HER POLLING-PLACE

Living the life I had, at the time when equal suffrage became a most serious thinking subject for me, there was one point that was quite difficult for me to get around. I had seen polling-places as

conducted by men, and to tell the truth it did not seem to me that they were either fit places for a woman to enter or that the invasion of my sex might make them more representative of that seriousness for which they are purposed. The casting of a ballot influencing the selection of law-makers for a nation is no trivial affair. It is a dignified and immensely responsible act, this expression of one's choice. The one who votes is, as a matter of fact, ethically responsible for his country's welfare. If his country is as dear to him as it should be, he must realize the importance of that act. Do you think that all the Molly Starks are dead and that sex predicates patriotism? Isn't there as much patriotism and reverence for principles among women as among men? Was all the suffering of the Civil War and all its partisanship confined to men alone?

That polling-place kept bothering me to a certain extent, and I think it has bothered a great many women. But if a good house-keeper found dirt in a closet she would not lock the door on herself, but would call for a broom. So the question of polling-place did not long stand in the way. It is with some satisfaction, therefore, that I call attention to conditions as they now are in five States of the Union, where women have the right to vote; and all of these show that either the woman who drives to the polling-place in her own automobile, or the sewing girl who walks there, will receive courteous treatment. It is my belief that the woman of the Four Hundred, were she given voting privilege in New York, would find no contamination were she empowered to vote, and that your daughter, Mr. Reader, even if you are not one of that so-called Four Hundred, could cast her ballot with immunity.

In a life which has not been devoid of observation I have come to the certain conclusion that at least ninety per cent of men are basically chivalric. The fighting insult among them is a slur upon their mothers. If a man fights for his mother's reputation he is pretty apt to fight for his mother's surroundings. He will enter places himself and hear things there which, were his mother to enter, he would wish cleansed or obliterated. That is the only way by which I can account for the undoubted purification and uplifting of the polling-places in five States where women enjoy municipal suffrage—namely, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas and Utah. No well-informed person would say that women in Utah, up to a quite recent time, were regarded with more veneration than in New York. In those States, according to the Mayors of all principal cities, something like ninety per cent of women voted were not corrupted by participation in elections, elected better men to office, took an intelligent interest in municipal affairs, and elevated the polling-places themselves to an unprecedented state of decency and orderliness. The single Mayor in all those States who would not recommend woman suffrage in cities was in that year, 1906, at Manitou, Colorado. I don't

know what his name was, but presume that it was his chief bid for fame. If his identity has not been lost behind a number, I should like to have his name and a photograph. It is too bad that Lombroso is dead!

THE "BAD-WOMAN" FALLACY EXPLODED

There was another element in this far-off day of which I had a question, and that was whether or not there were enough "bad women" to constitute a menace. I am not at this time entering into a question of what "bad woman" defines. I am simply taking the accepted term. The singular fact has been developed that the "bad woman" has little, if any, interest in politics, and in those States where municipal suffrage has been tried has never proved a factor. What if she does, Mr. Man? Are there no bad men voting? Or, if so, is the preponderance of men who vote bad? Does not the majority rule? Personally I am a believer that this is a pretty good old world, made up pretty largely of men and women who want to do the right thing if they have a chance. I think it is an understood fact that the women of Australia, Finland, New Zealand, Tasmania, Norway, Sweden, Canada, and the British Isles who enjoy municipal suffrage have not deteriorated through the privilege of the ballot, nor has the privilege of the ballot deteriorated through them. I think it is also a reasonable conclusion that if a woman has the intelligence to vote in a municipal election she is equally well qualified to vote in one of national concern. In some countries this fight is still waged—this fine point of illogical discrimination. "The Suffragette" arrested in London is as great a subject for the cartoonist as the mother-in-law; yet I have never met a man who had not a kind word for the woman who mothered his wife.

COLORADO SHOWS FACTS

Frequently I am asked by some interested person, or perchance a scoffer, what equal suffrage has accomplished. It seems absurd that one must reiterate its victories; Colorado alone has but recently proved what the woman vote can do. Sixteen years ago it was first tried, but, frankly, with considerable questioning. Eight years ago a clause was entered in the state constitution giving women, forever, a voice in state affairs, thus proving the attitude of residents of that State. Polling-places there are quite frequently in churches, schools, or colleges, and, contrary to the scoffers' predictions, women have exhibited no frantic desire for office. They have elected nine legislative representatives, members on many charitable boards, and inspection boards, as well as two-thirds of the county superintendents of schools. Millions of dollars have been saved to the State School fund by Mrs. Helen Grenfell of Denver while occupying the State Superintendency of Education.

Here are a few of the Colorado laws passed for which equal suffrage is responsible: Industrial School for Girls; Humane Society adopted as a state institution; the best juvenile court and truancy laws in the world, referred to as models by every civilized nation; the extreme age of consent; free employment bureaus in cities of 25,000, supported from state funds with provision for criminal prosecution for any man or woman receiving tribute money from immoral women, or contribution to juvenile delinquency; local option laws; pure food laws; boards of inspection and numerous smaller but equally needed statutes. Remember, if you will, that Colorado at the time when equal suffrage was granted, was a typical mining state, with all the freedom of life that primitive conditions imply. Yet the "bad woman vote" of Denver, its largest city, was in the last election but one-third of one per cent! Let me not forget to add that when equal suffrage was granted there were but three "dry towns" in the state while now there are sixteen "dry counties" and fifty-one towns without saloons.

VITAL LAWS IN OTHER STATES

Idaho does not fall behind Colorado in its record of performances which would have been difficult and sometimes impossible without the woman vote. Married women now control and dispose of their own property, and gambling was never a misdemeanor before women made it so by law. The pure food act of the state—so well administered—and the Industrial Reform School are results of women's votes. There are a round dozen of vital laws to the credit of equal suffrage in the state.

Utah is another remarkable example. Equal suffrage was not granted there until 1896. There are at least ten laws for the good of the community to their credit. One makes it a misdemeanor for any minor under eighteen years of age to buy, accept, or have in his possession cigarettes, tobacco, opium or any other narcotic. Also, the law providing for the protection of dependent, neglected, or ill-treated boys under fourteen and girls under sixteen years of age, and for the punishment of persons responsible for their care who neglect or ill-treat them, is pretty hard to beat.

Wyoming now boasts that it granted suffrage to women in 1869, and declares that there is not a good law in the State that women did not have a hand in. Governor Brooks, in 1909, went on record in a letter to a newspaper in which he said: "Under territorial and state government, woman suffrage has stood the test of nearly forty years' experience in Wyoming and has proved successful and beneficial."

THE HOME DOES NOT SUFFER

Some years ago, before I had actively interested myself in equal suffrage and looked upon it curiously, as an outsider hearing

arguments and weighing their worth, the commonest cry against permitting women to vote was that it would jeopardize the American home life; that a house with divided interest must fall; that a woman would become interested in politics and the home would suffer; that women would coarsen in fiber through political contact with men, and so on. The cartoonists took great delight in themes showing the poor down-trodden husband rocking the cradle in which his offspring howled, while the mother was shrieking her head off at some political meeting.

I used to wonder if any or all of these results would come were women allowed to vote. I can't now see why I did; for it is a ridiculous premise that anything can take a woman away from her home. The home to every good woman will be first, through all time. She may leave it to fight for it, but she returns purified and elevated. The home is the woman's sphere, and the higher her intelligence, the greater her appreciation of the fact that it is peculiarly her castle, where she dominates. The testimony of every State where equal suffrage has been granted invariably lays stress upon the fact that women have not deteriorated through voting. As Governor Cutler of Utah once said, with emphasis, "The women of this State have not been unsexed or debased by participation in politics; but have been broadened and bettered, intellectually and socially."

Once upon a time the bugaboo of equal suffrage was that women would be too easily influenced by the men around them. This question is for you, Mr. Man Reader. Do you influence your wife and daughter to do the wrong thing, or will you admit that they quite frequently influence you to do the right thing?

THE BOGY OF CASTE AND SEX

This classification of life itself in the sections of society is such a ridiculous thing to me that I sometimes wonder how the different sections are divided in their regard one for the other. It is not a fault of mine that I was born and have lived in a station where I had things which others might envy, criticise, or decry. The woman who works with her hands has advantages which I never possessed. She comes in contact with struggling realities, which I envy her. She sees elemental things which I may never know. She suffers or enjoys an intensity of emotion from which I am debarred. Perhaps she knows the joy of little things. So do I. My most cherished possession as a child was a rag doll. In many a millionaire's nursery to-day some little girl has taken the German creation which cost a poor man's fortune from its tiny crib and put therein some ragged old thing which appealed to her heart. The difference in caste, environment, or opportunity is swept away by that one phase of life which Shakespeare so adequately expressed when he said that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin.



Alie Paul

It must indeed be a peculiar man who would say to himself that sex defined intellectuality. We are all human. The decision of sex is still unknown and so far as we know an accident. Preponderance of muscle, even among men themselves, does not premise preponderance of brain. The weight of bone or brain does not premise the fineness or quality of bone and brain. Women give birth to men—it is only opportunity which better fits the man for any life task than the female child to which she also gives birth. Voting is an opportunity leading up to the judicial discernment of broader themes. So why should the daughter born from the same mother be debarred from this broadening influence?

Mrs. Belmont was always willing to lend a helpful hand to her Rhode Island co-workers. It gives me pleasure to reproduce the attractive photograph, which she sent for our picture gallery, during our most ambitious days. She also sent us contributions from her suffrage Beauty Shop, which were received most gladly by the younger crowd. Opening up Marble House for suffrage meetings gave some of us our first opportunity to view at close range such grandeur. History should attribute much praise to Mrs. Belmont's part in bringing votes to the women of the United States.

Alice Paul lived up to the high expectations raised by that first glimpse of her in Washington, D. C. As Mrs. Henry O. Havemeyer said about her, "Alice Paul dearly loves three things: a parade, a pageant and a collection." Her masterly control of detail and the apparent ease with which she inspired her followers to unlimited sacrifice excited my wonder and astonishment.

So far as my knowledge goes, Rhode Island's relations with the Congressional Union, afterward the National Woman's Party, have been mutually satisfactory, so in order to give true historical perspective to the activity of this body in Rhode Island, I wrote Miss Paul asking for a brief account. Her answer is too brief to give anything like an adequate idea of the work accomplished by this energetic group of zealous young militants in our State.

"NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

CAPITOL HILL

Washington, D. C.

GOVERNMENT WORKERS' COUNCIL

Laura M. Berrien, *Chairman*Mary C. Pittman, *Secretary*

September 9, 1925

MRS. JAMES W. ALGEO

Barrington, R. I.

DEAR MRS. ALGEO:

I am so interested to learn of your projected plan of writing an account of the suffrage movement in Rhode Island.

As you request, I am sending under separate cover a photograph of myself. I have no photograph taken in 1912, but am sending you the oldest one we have here at headquarters.

In your letter you also ask for a brief account of the work of the Woman's Party in Rhode Island. We began as I think you know, to work in Rhode Island for the federal suffrage amendment in 1913 when we started our campaign for the federal amendment in Washington. During the summer of 1913 we sent an organizer to Newport to arouse interest and collect money for the federal amendment and we continued to do that practically every summer until the amendment had passed Congress. For two summers we had maintained headquarters in Newport during the entire summer season and other years sent organizers and speakers from time to time.

In addition to the work for the federal amendment which we carried on among the summer colony at Newport, we also sent national workers repeatedly to other parts of Rhode Island to stimulate greater interest in the federal amendment campaign. You will recall that in the spring of 1914 Mrs. Lawrence Lewis and I, for instance, went to Providence to enlist the interest of your organization and the other suffrage leaders in coöperating in a nation-wide demonstration in support of the federal suffrage amendment to be held simultaneously all over the country the following May. We were upon that occasion, you will remember, guests at your home. Following this visit, we sent Miss Emily Perry, one of our national organizers, to Rhode Island and she held many meetings in support of the federal amendment. Following her, we sent Mildred Gilbert, another national organizer, to Rhode Island and she also held numerous meetings. Other national workers who spent periods of a week or more in Rhode

Island endeavoring to get increased publicity on the federal amendment, letters and petitions to the members of Congress from that state, etc., were Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, our National Political Chairman; Miss Lucy Burns, our National Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, our National Treasurer, and Miss Elsie Hill, member of our National Council.

We did not form a real branch of the Woman's Party in Rhode Island until the federal amendment had passed Congress and reached the ratification stage. At that time, as you will remember, Mrs. Michael Van Buren took the state chairmanship and continued to be the state chairman until the final ratification of the suffrage amendment by the required 36 states.

Sincerely,

Alice Paul."

Alice Park of California did good publicity work for the Woman's Party, when on her various visits to Rhode Island. Her collection of suffrage emblems and pins is, to the best of my belief, the finest in existence:

"611 GILMAN STREET,
PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
April 3, 1923.

MY DEAR MRS. ALGEO:

Miss Eddy has shown me your letter to her—and I am deeply interested in your plan for a new record of R. I. Suffrage work. I am always delighted when a very hard-working suffragist has energy *after* the vote is secured, to lay out a new job. I think you have chosen a good one, and I rejoice in the evidence of energy to spare. Am sure you will make an excellent book.

There is an anecdote—it may be in the *Life of S. B. A.*—or possibly only in the *Woman's Journal*—I can't verify it—so I remind you of it—when Miss A. was talking with some workers toward the end of her life,—she gave advice as to the methods of going on with the suffrage work, and said for them "to do so and so—instead of praising me endlessly." I always liked this anecdote. Possibly I can trace it after I return to Palo Alto.

I like to remember all our days together—that first one at the Fair—the errands to the state buildings, etc.—and then afterwards in Providence and Rhode Island; I look forward to meeting you again.

Here is an incident that I sometimes smile over—as showing how early and how steadily I was an advertisement for votes for women. I was a student at R. I. Normal school when I was 16,—1877—and the school was in that abandoned church on High Street—I think that was the name. A suffrage convention was in



COLLECTION OF WOMEN SUFFRAGE BUTTONS AND BADGES OF
MRS. ALICE PARK OF CALIFORNIA

session, and somehow I knew it was, and wanted to go. School was dismissed regularly at 2.30—I wanted to go earlier. We were always allowed to dismiss ourselves anytime, by giving notice at the office of the principal—we didn't have to state reason—it being assumed that budding teachers had good reasons. This was once of the only two times I ever left school before the closing hour.

I knew the principal was not in favor of votes for women. He wasn't actively opposed—but mildly so. I knew just what each teacher's opinion was on this most important index subject.

When I went to the office to announce that I planned to leave school early that day, I took pains to say it was in order to attend the suffrage convention.

I recount this for your amusement—I certainly could not have survived to this day if I hadn't had a sense of humor all the way along.

Yours for *Women*,

ALICE PARK."

Mrs. Park has a good sense of humor. In one of her letters she tells me to bring in some of the funny things that used to be said by the wiseacres opposed to woman suffrage and sends the following as an example of the old "Pedestal story." Women got so tired of being told that her place was on a pedestal that she longed for the time to come when she could be "just human."

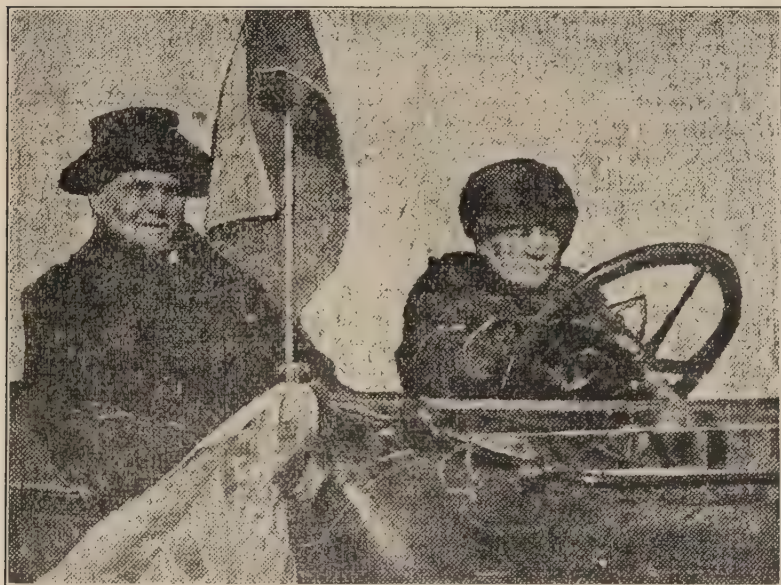
"I love, honor and respect woman. I recognize her in many ways as the equal of man. She peoples the earth with men, the sky with stars, and the sea with living things. I recognize her as great and noble in the sphere which is hers by nature and the consent of Man.

SENATOR ELON BROWN OF VIRGINIA."

Doris Stevens, now Mrs. Dudley Field Malone, was popular with the women of Rhode Island. It was before her "Jailed for Freedom;" before she had been jailed in fact, that she brought her persuasive eloquence and relentless logic to bear at our Slater Park meetings.

In my humble estimation, the two most courageous representatives of the Congressional Union in Rhode Island, were two local women, Mrs. Maria Kindberg, and Ingeborg Kinstedt. They were of Swedish descent and like so many of the women of Northern Europe, seemed to have been born with an unquenchable longing for freedom. From its earliest inception the flag of Congressional Union, purple, white and gold, with a large sign Congressional Union, flew from their home on Westminster

Street. In 1915, they went to the Exposition in San Francisco and there were asked by Mrs. Belmont to carry the petition to President Wilson, with its numberless signatures, gathered at the Union's booth during the summer, across the continent to Washington in time to present to President Wilson, urging him to include the suffrage amendment in his message. It was an impressive scene when this "giant scroll" was unrolled on the Capitol steps and the women marched thence to the White House. We wonder that President Wilson had heart to refuse its appeal.



MRS. KINDBERG AND MISS KINSTEDT BRING THE SUFFRAGE
PETITION ACROSS THE CONTINENT

No message to Garcia ever required more heroic courage than prompted these two women to buy an automobile in remote California and start out on this hazardous mission. I am glad that they were rewarded for its faithful performance by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, with beautiful wrist watches, and I am glad, too, that our splendid Governor recognized their visit to the Capitol, upon their return with signal honors. In 1917, I learned to run my car and never before or since have felt the same

power in achievement. Nevertheless I am not yet prepared to take it across the country, however noble the cause:

PROVIDENCE WOMEN CROSS CONTINENT FOR SUFFRAGE

ADVENTUROUS AUTO TRIP FROM SAN FRANCISCO BRINGS BIG PETITION TO CONGRESS

Washington, D. C., Dec. 10.

Still clad in the heavy garments in which they made the trans-continental tour, and always the centre of quering throngs, Miss Ingeborg Kinstedt and Mrs. Maria Kindberg, residents of Providence, who drove a "suffrage automobile" from San Francisco to Washington, have been among the most interesting and picturesque figures at the Congressional Union convention, now in session at the "Little White House."

Starting from San Francisco on Sept. 15, they arrived on schedule time at the foot of the Capitol steps at noon on the opening day of Congress, bearing in the tonneau of their car the monster suffrage petition to the nation's lawmakers. Only once did Miss Kindberg, who sat behind the wheel, give it up to a man, and this was the only time when the party lost their way. Thereafter they depended solely on their own resources and came out with flying colors.

Miss Kinstedt, who was mechanician, changed tires 12 times during the journey. She tightened screws, cleaned spark plugs, oiled the engine and repaired broken connections. There was never a time when the engine stalled that she couldn't discover the trouble and get the machine started. Once the tools were stolen, and meeting with a blow-out 20 miles from the nearest garage, she managed to change tires without a jack or screw driver. The chauffeur wore out two pairs of heavy boots in working the clutch and brake pedal. Several suitcases were lost before they learned how to tie things securely on the back of the machine, and lack of interest in their mission in several sections made even a suffragist weep bitter tears, but ovations and brass bands in other places evened things up pretty well.

All of the thrilling episodes of the 10 weeks' journey across the 3,000 miles lying between the City of the Golden Gates and the National Capitol are recounted over and over for the benefit of every newcomer. The story of the night drive through pouring rain when, soaked to the skin, they had to press on in order to meet a speaking engagement further ahead; of getting stuck dead in a bog and after an arduous tramp of a couple of miles, finally securing the services of a farmer and a mule team to drag them

out; of meeting 15 Governors and 25 Mayors; of being fairly submerged numbers of times under eager applicants wishing to sign up; of phenomenal runs at night when speed regulations could be disregarded, the throttle opened wide and the machine given its head—are only snapshots of the adventures crowded into the 10 weeks spent in crossing the continent.

Probably the most dramatic experience was the time when they were lost in the desert of Utah. An engagement ahead forced them to keep on the way even after dark, and, knowing that the route ahead was a puzzling one, they determined to engage the services of a guide. This was the one and only time when they called upon a man for help. After plunging about various roads until well into the night, the guide finally admitted that he didn't know where he was. Moreover, he intimated that he intended to have the fee which had been offered him or he would know the reason why at the point of his pistol, which he took considerable trouble to display.

The situation appeared dubious, but, fortunately, just at this juncture they spied two cow-punchers soundly sleeping in their blankets by the side of a lingering camp-fire. The cow-punchers gave them explicit directions how to get out. Even amid the stress of the situation the petition was not forgotten, and, after thanking the gallant Westerners for their timely aid, the suffragists unrolled the petition and had them affix their signatures.

For the first time since leaving San Francisco, they unpacked their evening clothes for Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont's reception, and drove out in a taxi. It was with relish that they shook hands with the President, who paid marked attention during his meeting with the women voters to the two women who had driven the suffrage car across the country.

Mrs. Kindberg and Miss Kinstedt are of Swedish birth, and both active in suffrage work in Rhode Island, Miss Kinstedt being President of the Woman's Political Equality League and Mrs. Kindberg, treasurer of the same organization, which is not connected with the Rhode Island Equal Suffrage Association. Miss Kinstedt is not only familiar with machinery, but she can handle a saw and hammer as well, and she knows enough about carpentry to build a bungalow. Mrs. Kindberg has taken a great interest in all kinds of outdoor sports since her youth, and is enthusiastic about all of the sports of the north.

They left Providence early in the summer and went to the exposition by the way of the Panama Canal. As soon as the convention is over they will motor back to Providence in the car which made the continental trip.—*The Providence Sunday Journal*, December 12, 1915.

CHAPTER XVII

A HAPPY CLIMAX

As a girl at home I was much impressed by the bad example of a dear friend of mine who had unlimited opportunities for doing good but failed to accomplish much because she was always longing for broader fields. If she had knuckled down to the job near at hand she would have found a field sufficiently big to occupy her slender efforts for a long time. To my mind the task of the local town, or state worker is as necessary and important as that of the big National leader. I always loved my work in Rhode Island whether in teaching or social service. However, it made a very happy climax for me when I was invited to join the United States delegates to the Congress of the International Suffrage Alliance in June, 1920. It was a royal feast after fifteen years of hopes deferred and monotonous repetition of recurrent activities for the attainment of a certain goal. My particular task was finished. Rhode Island had ratified; it was up to Tennessee to complete the 36. Not without some qualms did I leave my husband with his faithful dog, Suffrage, to sail on the Royal George.

On the eve of my departure my comrades-in-arms came to bid me God-speed. In "My Trip Abroad" book, one of the gifts given me by my fellow workers, I find inscribed in Mrs. James E. P. Pender's beautiful script the following words: "Memento to Mrs. Sara M. Algeo—On the eve of her departure to the International Suffrage Alliance Congress at Geneva, Switzerland. Rhode Island is honored in having a delegate. As co-workers we share the honor with her."

Then I find the names of the following dear women who contributed toward my beautiful brooch: Bertha Higgins, Althea L. Hall, Victoria North, Elizabeth Upham Yates, Ingeborg Kinstedt, Maria Kindberg, Pearl Sayles, Jennie L. Rooke, Gertrude Lawson, Ellen Day, Enid M. Pierce, Emma B. Fowler, Margaret Docherty, Jessie V. Budlong, Clara W. Brooke, Gertrude A. Brooke, Louise F. Brooke, Mrs. Partelow, Mary Marsh, Mrs. Edwin Tetlow, Jessie Robinson, Misses Boyd and Jefferson, Susan Williams, Roberta Dunbar, Mrs. John Aldred, Mrs. Pender, Mary Floyd Babcock, and Elizabeth Doyle. Many of these friends and fellow workers will read these lines and I want them to feel that their old-fashioned surprise party will always have grateful recognition in my heart.

From first to last it was soul-satisfying! the trip through the battlefields, the real friendships formed at the Congress, some of which I hope to renew when I go back next May, my friendly acquaintance with Dame Lyttleton and Lady Astor, both of whom entertained me in England, and more especially the passage home and my long talks with Mrs. Catt on shipboard.



BEST WISHES FROM ALL THE ASTORS

Upon my return to Rhode Island I tried to put into words for the benefit of my fellow-workers some of the things I had gained from this experience. The following paper written in 1920 may convey some idea of what the Congress meant to me:

THE INTERNATIONAL MIND OF WOMEN AT WORK

—1920—

My curiosity at last was satisfied. As one of the delegates from the United States to the 8th Congress of the International Suffrage Alliance, held in Geneva the second week of June, I was given the

opportunity to see how women of all nationalities, for thirty-five of the fifty odd countries of the globe had sent delegates, handle problems of international significance. All our lives we had been told that women are personal, sentimental, and endowed by their Creator with minds quite unfit for delving into the knotty questions of international relations which the masculine mind is supposed to master so easily. That the latter view may be somewhat suppositional, reports from the Peace Conference would indicate.



SENATOR ROBINSON
MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT

MRS. JOSEPHUS DANIELS
SARA M. ALGEO

For a hard-working suffragist like myself opportunities for seeing the mind of women at work in my own State have been numerous and varied. To be sure, it worked in queer and devious ways at times but on the whole its accomplishment usually proved good. The wild and lurid stunts we had felt called upon to do for our beloved cause at times had proved us, as a sex, capable of unlimited sacrifice to attain the desired goal. Nor were we so personal as some of our masculine friends would like to believe. Each year sees some new and humanitarian law added to the statute books which, traced to its source, shows that some group or groups of women banded together have an eye for the public good.

In our particular community we have more nationalities than were represented at the Congress and many times we fail to comprehend each other's language and see each other's objective. It

is hard for the Anglo-Saxon American woman to understand why her Sinn Fein American neighbor across the way is pathetically anxious about an Irish Republic. It is equally difficult for the Italian woman who knows all about Fiume to find her better educated Irish friend so unresponsive on the subject and it is still more perplexing for the German woman to regain the warm friendships she used to enjoy with her neighbors before the war. Colored women are looking at us all somewhat askance with the query, "Now that women are getting justice and the vote, do we get a square deal, too?" I am optimistic enough to believe that through the slow but steady process of Americanization and a common medium of communication we are gradually attaining a common background for future efforts toward mutual benefit.

As within State boundaries women are beginning to understand each other and interpret this understanding into terms of community welfare, so through great national organizations women from all sections of the country are becoming acquainted with each other's limitation and needs, are acquiring a knowledge of national issues, and are beginning to think in terms of the nation as well as the state. It may be asserted without controversy that the past few decades have witnessed a steady decay in provincialism in women's work and a steady growth in nationalism of ideas and ideals.

No better illustration of this could be found than in suffrage work. In 1889 it was considered remarkable that one state should emancipate its women. In 1920 it seems ridiculous that in any state there should have been doubt about all women having full voting privileges in the fall election. The presentation to National Party Conventions of constructive programs of humanitarian legislation by the League of Women Voters, programs so well drawn and considered that they received unqualified praise and support from both dominant Parties, typifies how the thought and action of the women of the United States, at least, are becoming nationalized.

With the eagerness and receptivity characteristic of American Club women, our delegation looked forward to the International Congress at Geneva to see if women were thinking along international lines as well. Would they be willing for the sake of the future peace of future generations to come together at all while the scars of the Great War were still raw and bleeding? This was the first question we asked ourselves with some fear. That the war is still going on in the hearts of most of us I learned very promptly. From the moment we stepped foot on the Royal George until we landed in New York we were never permitted to forget this fact. Reminders came from the French Baron who with his wife had been collecting funds in America for devastated France, who frankly told us that neither we nor our suffrage or prohibition were wanted in France. Americans would be tolerated only on account

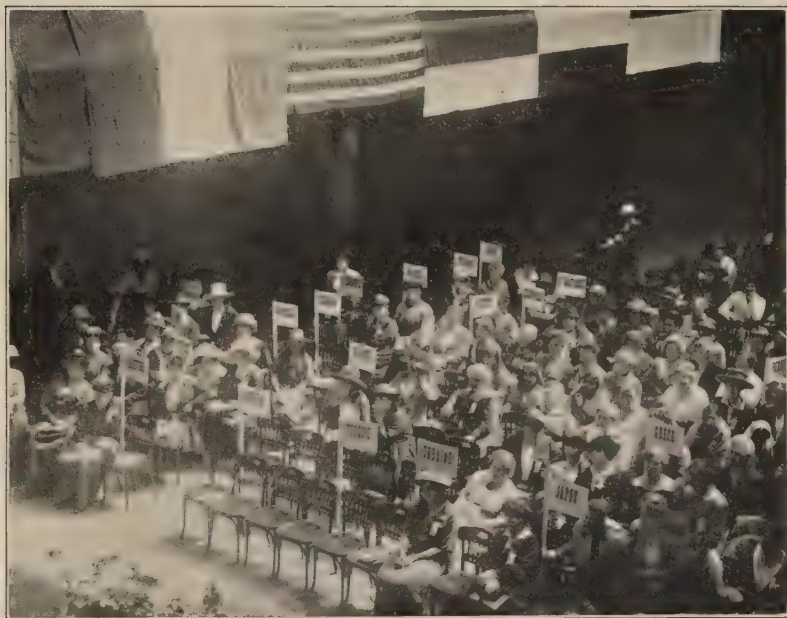
of their money. We seemed to be held personally responsible for the failure of the United States to enter the League of Nations. Such was the intolerant spirit of the boat that we wondered anew if the women of other nations which had suffered much more than our own would be able to so far forget their personal grief and their nation's wrongs as to come to a world convention to mingle on the common and courteous ground of international amity. How they proved worthy of the test you shall see.

The training for the part to be played by the United States delegation at the Congress began on the Royal George under that best of all teachers and clear international thinker, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. In formal and informal talks the Woman's Charter and resolutions to be brought before the convention were threshed over. Especially close attention was given to the Peace Treaty and Covenant and the relation of the United States to the League of Nations. We were made to realize that any precocious-child attitude which the American is prone to assume in her travels would do well to give place to more humble mien. It was borne in upon us that as our country was not a member of the League it would be wise not to be too assertive when it was under consideration; as we had not suffered in the war to the extent of other nations, it behooved us to keep any superfluous prosperity in the background; while third and most important, the 36th state was not yet won while twelve other countries were bringing in complete laurels. We were also advised to leave the war out of our conversation as far as possible. Gradually as the steamer ploughed its way toward Cherbourg our delegation, made up of wives of cabinet members and senators, distinguished writers and welfare workers, newspaper correspondents and active suffragists like myself, under the sane and sensible tutelage of Mrs. Catt, began to think in terms of France and Great Britain, of Turkey and Roumania, and of India and Argentina.

The Congress afforded ample opportunity to see the international mind of women at work. Women from India with dark skins, soft brown eyes and flowing, bright-colored swaris vied in expressing opinions on the forward march of womankind with eager-looking French women clad in short-skirted and high-collared dresses of unique and we were told economical manufacture. Many wore their native costume on occasion, if not throughout the entire Congress. Mes. Iceland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania looked delightfully foreign to our American eyes. As might be expected racial accents and differences popped out everywhere, even in the smoking of cigarettes. Mme. Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary smoked hers with all the enjoyment and abandon of the little street gamin: the English delegates, theirs with the stolid, satisfied air of United States Congressmen performing a necessary duty. The American delegates for the most part did not smoke at all, at least in public places. Nor did they

drink the beer and wine served in the terraced gardens with the same freedom as women of other countries. Whether this was due to prohibition in our country or lack of habit on the part of busy suffragists to indulge in stimulants, I will not venture to say.

The personal note crept in at times. Lady Millicent Fawcett, England's beloved old suffrage war-horse, was not in her usual place on the platform: it was rumored that her grief over the war was too poignant to permit her to extend the olive branch to her German associates. We learned with sorrow that no representatives from Belgium were present as the German women had not



CONGRESS OF INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE,
GENEVA, 1920

properly apologized for the deportations of women from Belgium. The German women claimed they had no knowledge of such deportations. As an officer of the Alliance, Frau Stritt, Member of the City Council of Dresden, maintained a position of dignity and honor on the platform throughout the Congress. Soviet Russia sent no delegates.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, or Mrs. Chapman Catt, as she is called in Europe, presided with her accustomed ease and dignity.

A perfect fairness and detachment of judgment controlled her decisions and every country gladly admitted that she surpassed all other women in genuine statesmanship; hence the rejoicing was universal when she consented after much persuasion to retain the Presidency.

And now, how does the international mind of women work? Frankly, just about the same as the mind of women of country or state works; a little more slowly, perhaps, on account of difference in language and the many translations necessary. Three translations were usually made in the official languages of the convention, German, French and English. Other languages, Spanish, Italian and dialects were often used. Able interpreters became very weary in getting ideas across the footlights by so many modes of conveyance. Yet, after all, the interpreters were there, which is more than can be said in state Americanization work where often no adequate means of transferring thought between diverse nationalities exist. Best of all women from thirty-five countries had put aside personal feeling and in many cases with great expense and hardship to themselves owing to the depreciated rate of exchange had come to consider the common good.

American club women rather pride themselves upon their strict adherence to parliamentary law in conducting public meetings and conventions. That they have a keener respect for its claims than women of other nations was often demonstrated at the convention. Once when whispering became rampant throughout the assembly, Mrs. Catt said in calmly judicial tones, "If you will continue to whisper, we will adjourn and you may have time to discuss this question." The United States delegates recognized the implied rebuke and were awed into stricken silence. A pleased babel arose from the others, however, who regarded her words as a literal permission to do just what they wanted to do, discuss the matter freely among themselves.

A parliamentarian has said that parliamentary law is but a useful vehicle for conducting business. However different the points of view may have been in regard to the mechanics of the Congress, there was no doubt that the minds of all women present were pursuing the same channel of thought on the great and vital issues effecting women and children of to-day, at this, the first world congress of women, outside pacifist circles since the war. Every heart was burdened with the desire to feed the hungry, especially the hungry children whose condition was placed before us most eloquently by delegates from starving countries.

However inadequately expressed, we were there with one great purpose, to dignify the position of women, whether to make her a full-fledged voter in the United States or to take her out of the harem in Turkey. Every decision reached, every clause in the Woman's Charter had this in view. The following platform of the



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT WITH HER COUNSELLORS AT THE CONGRESS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, GENEVA, 1920

minimum principles to be accepted by women was adopted with practical unanimity.

POLITICAL RIGHTS

1. That the suffrage be granted to women and their equal status with men upon legislative and administrative bodies, both national and international, be recognized.

PERSONAL RIGHTS

2. That women, equally with men, shall have the protection of the law against slavery, such as still exists in some parts of Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa.

3. That a married woman should have the same right to retain or change her nationality as a man.

DOMESTIC RIGHTS

4. That on marriage a woman should have full personal and civil rights, including the right to the use and disposal of her own earnings and property, and that she should not be under the tutelage of her husband.

5. That the married mother should have the same rights over the children as the father.

6. That the children of widows, if left without provisions, should have the right to maintenance by the state, such maintenance to be paid to the mother as guardian.

7. That research for the father of a child born out of wedlock should be authorized; that such a child should have the same right to maintenance and education from the father during the period of dependency as a legitimate child, and that an unmarried mother during the period when she is incapacitated should also have the right of being maintained by the father of her child.

EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS

8. That all opportunities of education, general, professional and technical, should be open to both sexes.

9. That women should have the same opportunity as men for training and for entering industries, professions, civil service and all administrative and judicial positions.

10. That women should receive the same pay as men for the same work.

11. That the right to work of both married and unmarried women be recognized; that no special regulations for women's work, different from regulations for men, should be imposed contrary to the wishes of the women themselves; that laws relating to

women as mothers should be so framed as not to handicap them in their economic position, and that all future labor regulations should tend towards equality of men and women.

MORAL RIGHTS

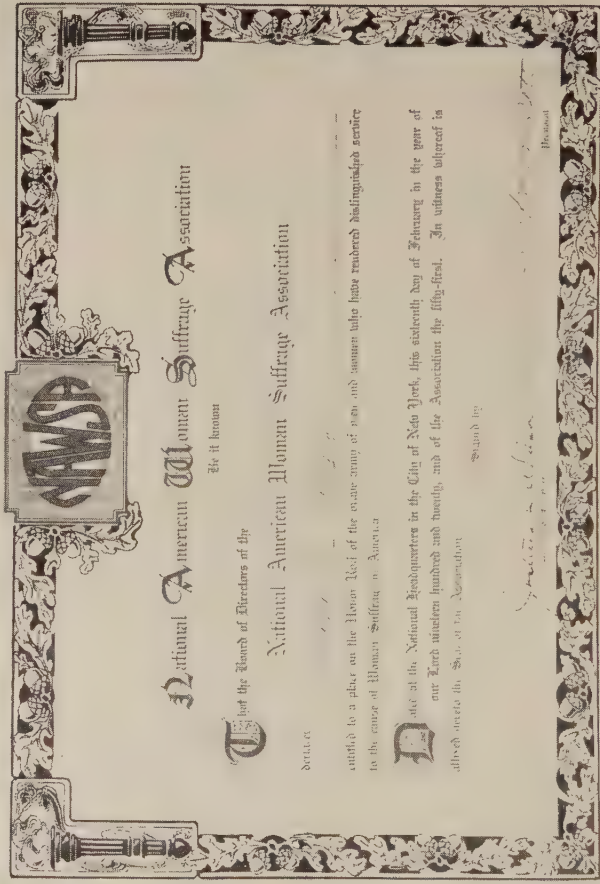
12. That a higher moral standard, equal for men and women, should be recognized, that the traffic in women should be suppressed, the regulation of vice and all laws and practices differentiating against women or any class of women in this matter be abolished.

The current of desire for world peace and international harmony ran deep and strong. There was no dissenting voice in the adoption of the following resolution:

"The women of thirty-five nations assembled in Congress in Geneva, convinced that in a strong society of nations, based on the principles of right and justice, lies the only hope of assuring the future peace of the world, call upon the women of the whole world to direct their will, their intelligence and their influence towards the development and the consolidation of the Society of Nations on such a basis, and to assist in every possible way in its work of securing peace and good will throughout the world."

There was wide divergence of opinion in regard to women's position in the League of Nations. The English delegates fought hard for a resolution requesting a woman's bureau in connection with the League and failing in that, succeeded in securing a resolution to establish within the Suffrage Alliance a general secretary for the League of Nations and, in addition, to ask the League to call annually a woman's conference to be made up, first of women government representatives, second of women chosen by governments from lists submitted by the larger international women's organizations, and third of women experts along the various lines to be discussed: the League to be requested to bear the expense of such meetings.

Most of the United States delegates were strongly opposed to this resolution, feeling that women should be admitted in on the ground floor of the League and not as Ladies' Aids. Some of us felt that the English women are scarcely conscious of the extent of their freedom. This may be due to the attitude of English men if the general spirit among them be reflected in a remark I heard one day in the House of Commons. I was present at the debate on the League of Nations and casually remarked to an attendant in leaving that I understood that Lady Astor was to speak later. "Oh, no," he replied in horrified tones, "The League of Nations is too big a subject for a lady to talk about."



National American Woman Suffrage Association

Be it known

That the Board of Directors of the

National American Woman Suffrage Association

do hereby

certified to a place on the Honor Roll of the name of *John and Susan who have rendered distinguished service to the cause of Woman Suffrage in America*

Done at the National Headquarters in the City of New York, this sixteenth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty, and of the Association the fifty-first. In witness whereof is affixed over the Seal of the Association

signed by

John and Susan

President

In the get-to-gether meetings of kindred nations at the Congress between regular sessions, interesting and ingenious suggestions were made in regard to binding and solidifying women's interests. The Anglo-Saxon American dinners and teas were most illuminating and if all the plans contributed for bringing about a clearer mutual understanding are carried out, Britain and America should get along very nicely for some time to come. Lady Astor was right in saying that truth and frankness in speaking it are needed most of all between nations. As an American woman and an English M. P. she is a strong bond between our country and England and her words should carry weight.

What did we bring home from the Congress? An abiding faith in the wisdom and lofty intent of our fellow-women whether they reside in far-away Japan or in staid old New England. We are ready to affirm that seriousness of purpose and well-earned success characterized the work reported by women of all nations and that the increasing volume of women's voice in the conduct of the world's work bodes well for future generations. We found distinguished M. P.'s and less important councilwomen performing their new political tasks with distinct advantage to their communities. There remains no doubt in our minds that the women of the future will do their share if given the chance.

Upon our return from the Congress we found women of the United States watching with great anxiety conditions in Tennessee. The uncertainty and hesitation manifested by this state was appalling in view of the consequences resting upon its decision as the 36th State. Mrs. Catt with her forces went directly to this psychological centre and soon we were thrilled by the glad tidings on August 26, 1920, that the Secretary of State had proclaimed that the Nineteenth Amendment was now a part of the Federal Constitution and the women citizens of the United States were fully enfranchised.

As a token of appreciation to the many women who had contributed their time and strength to bringing about this happy issue to the struggle of seventy-five years the National American Woman Suffrage Association issued distinguished service certificates to State leaders. Several were given in Rhode Island; among the fortunate recipients were Elizabeth Upham Yates, Sara L. G. Fittz and Althea L. Hall. I regret that I do not know the names of all who were so honored.

CHAPTER XVIII

EQUAL RIGHTS

If I had a daughter, for the sake of her general culture, I would want her to know certain salient facts about woman suffrage. Just as the stories of David and Jonathan, of Damon and Pythias have been dramatized for every generation, so should the story of Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton and their memorable walk down Great Queen Street, London, in 1840, after their dismissal from the hall of accepted delegates at the International Anti-Slavery Convention. On this walk they decided to hold a suffrage convention upon their return to America, which resolve was carried out in 1848 in Seneca Falls. Two years from that time Paulina Wright Davis and Elizabeth Buffum Chace of Rhode Island, Lucy Stone of Massachusetts, with other New England suffragists, called the first national convention in Worcester, Mass., in 1850.

At this time Susan B. Anthony came into suffrage circles to stay and lead for the remainder of her life. Before 1861, considerable work such as petitions, conventions, were held under an organization known as the Woman's Rights Society, though the Anti-Slavery movement was occupying the mind of the country. All thought was diverted to the Civil War during its four years' span. By the 13th and 14th amendments to the Constitution the slaves were freed and their citizenship written into the law of our land. Many suffragists objected to this seeming lack of justice in giving others the vote while denying it to them and the Woman's Rights Society became the Equal Rights Association, with Lucretia Mott as president. Again for the protection of the negro man voter another amendment, the 15th, was added and again after a struggle the women were omitted. The men gained control of the Equal Rights Association Convention on May 12, 1869, and as a result the 15th amendment failed to include women.

On May 13, 1869, the National Woman Suffrage Association was formed with Mrs. Stanton as president and Susan B. Anthony as chairman of the executive committee. In November a convention was called at Cleveland, Ohio, to form another national

group called the American Woman Suffrage Association. Differing on such matters as States' Rights and the Federal Amendment methods of getting the vote, these two organizations worked on as separate units for twenty years and then joined forces in 1890, under the name of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Again Mrs. Stanton became president, Miss Anthony, vice-president; Rachel Foster Avery, corresponding secretary, and Alice Stone Blackwell, recording secretary. At the Convention of 1892, Miss Anthony became president. Mrs. Stanton and Lucy Stone, after working for equality for forty-five years, made their last appearance at this convention.

The united association had only four presidents, Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. Every schoolgirl should know about the winning of the first four states: Wyoming, 1890; Colorado, 1893; Utah, 1895; Idaho, 1896. Other states followed after a long interim: Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Kansas, Oregon and Arizona, 1912; Nevada and Montana, 1914. At this time President Woodrow Wilson advocated woman suffrage and his cabinet followed his example. With women enfranchised in eleven states, Mrs. Catt who became president for the second time, felt it wise to turn attention to the Federal Amendment, upon which a younger group of women, under the leadership of Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, had been working in Washington since 1913. In 1917, New York women were enfranchised; in 1918, Michigan, South Dakota and Oklahoma, making fifteen in all.

The 19th amendment giving full suffrage to women had its final passage in the Senate on June 4, 1919, and was sent to the States for their two-third's vote. State by State, thirty-six states, ratified, the last one being Tennessee. On August 26, 1920, the 19th Amendment became a part of the Federal Constitution.

Two dates should be written in letters of gold on the mind of every Rhode Island girl, April 17, 1917, the date of passage of the Presidential Suffrage Bill and January 6, 1920, the day which marked the Ratification of the 19th Amendment.

I am sending this book forth with fear and trembling; it, I trust, will meet with a few responsive readers. The words of the poor ghost who lies buried in the town of Carlisle, Massachusetts, on his tombstone the following epitaph, best expresses my feelings:

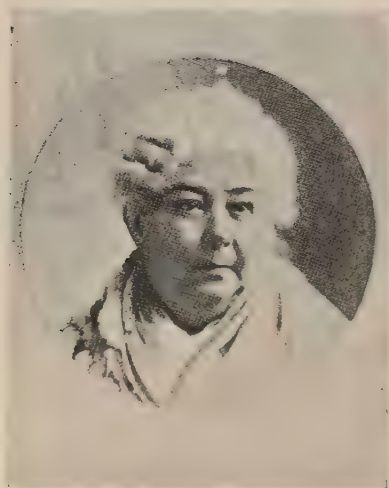
The pictures of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt are familiar to American school children. So should the faces of the five great presidents pictured below be written indelibly upon their minds and hearts.

FIVE PRESIDENTS

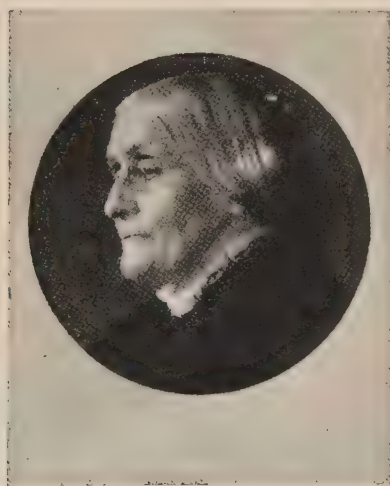


LUCRETIA MOTT

PRESIDENT OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION



ELIZABETH CADY STANTON
FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION



SUSAN B. ANTHONY
SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION



DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW
THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION



MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT
FOURTH AND LAST PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL AMERICAN
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

"The die is cast, my hope, my fear,
 My pain, my joy lies buried here ;
 And, reader, you ere long must try
 This dreaded change as well as I
 Nor can a courteous ghost reveal
 What I have felt and you must feel."

Five years ago women received the vote. It has been borne in upon me with renewed emphasis each year since, that this is but one of the rights for which the early pioneers were striving. In Rhode Island we know from careful surveys made recently that discriminations against women exist in every aspect of life. The moral sense of human beings has not yet been sufficiently developed to give and exact justice. Especially is this true of our laws which we find discriminate against women in many ways:

Mothers do not have equal guardianship with fathers of their children.

Mothers do not have equal rights with fathers to services and earnings of their children.

A wife's services in the home belong to her husband.

Women are forced to bear brunt of burden of illegitimate parenthood.

Women are excluded from jury service.

Women teachers are discriminated against in regulations and customs of school boards.

Women in industry are hampered by discriminatory legislation.

In this closing chapter, as my final words to the young people to whom I should like to consider it dedicated, I feel I can do no better than leave with you the high resolves of another set of young people who are destined to take our places when we join the "courteous ghost" of Carlisle. The good work must go on!

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

OF THE

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

Whereas, Women today, although enfranchised, are still in every way subordinate to men before the law, in government, in educational opportunities, in the professions, in the church, in industry, and in the home,

Be it Resolved, That as a part of our campaign to remove all forms of the subjection of women, we shall work for the following immediate objects:



ANITA POLLITZER
SECRETARY NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

That women shall no longer be regarded and shall no longer regard themselves as inferior to men, but the equality of the sexes shall be recognized.

That women shall no longer be the governed half of society, but shall participate equally with men in the direction of life.

That women shall no longer be denied equal educational opportunities with men, but the same opportunities shall be given to both sexes in all schools, colleges and universities which are supported in any way by public funds.

That women shall no longer be barred from any occupation, but every occupation open to men shall be open to women, and restrictions upon the hours, conditions, and remuneration of labor shall apply alike to both sexes.

That women shall no longer be discriminated against in the legal, the medical, the teaching, or any other profession, but the same opportunities shall be given to women as to men in training for professions and in the practice of these professions.

That women shall no longer be discriminated against in civil and government service, but shall have the same right as men to authority, appointment, advancement and pay in the executive, the legislative, and the judicial branches of the government service.

That women shall no longer be discriminated against in the foreign trade, consular and diplomatic service, but women as well as men shall represent our country in foreign lands.

That women shall no longer receive less pay than men for the same work, but shall receive equal compensation for equal work in public and private employment.

That women shall no longer be barred from the priesthood or ministry, or any position of authority in the church, but equally with men shall participate in ecclesiastical offices and dignities.

That a double moral standard shall no longer exist, but one code shall obtain for both men and women.

That exploitation of the sex of women shall no longer exist, but women shall have the same right to the control of their persons as have men.

That women shall no longer be discriminated against in treatment of sex diseases and in punishment of sex offenses, but men and women shall be treated in the same way for sex diseases and sex offenses.

That women shall no longer be deprived of the right of trial by a jury of their peers, but jury service shall be open to women as to men.

That women shall no longer be discriminated against in inheritance laws, but men and women shall have the same right to inherit property.

That the identity of the wife shall no longer be merged in that of her husband, but the wife shall retain her separate identity after marriage and be able to contract with her husband concerning the marriage relationship.

That a woman shall no longer be required by law or custom to assume the name of her husband upon marriage, but shall have the same right as a man to retain her own name after marriage.

That the wife shall no longer be considered as supported by the husband, but their mutual contribution to the family maintenance shall be recognized.

That the headship of the family shall no longer be in the husband alone, but shall be equally in the husband and wife.

That the husband shall no longer own his wife's services, but these shall belong to her alone as in the case of any free person.

That the husband shall no longer own his wife's earnings, but these shall belong to her alone.

That the husband shall no longer own or control his wife's property, but it shall belong to her and be controlled by her alone.

That the husband shall no longer control the joint property of his wife and himself, but the husband and wife shall have equal control of their joint property.

That the husband shall no longer obtain divorce more easily than the wife, but the wife shall have the right to obtain divorce on the same grounds as the husband.

That the husband shall no longer have a greater right to make contracts than the wife, but a wife shall have equal right with her husband to make contracts.

That married women shall no longer be denied the right to choose their own citizenship, but shall have the same independent choice of citizenship as is possessed by their husbands.

That women shall no longer be discriminated against in the economic world because of marriage, but shall have the same treatment in the economic world after marriage as have men.

That the father shall no longer have the paramount right to the care, custody, and control of the child, to determine its education and religion, to the guardianship of its estate, and to the control of its services and earnings, but these rights shall be shared equally by the father and mother in the case of all children, whether born within or without the marriage ceremony.

That no form of the Common Law or Civil Law disabilities of women shall longer exist, but women shall be equal with men before the law.

IN SHORT—THAT WOMAN SHALL NO LONGER BE IN ANY FORM OF SUBJECTION TO MAN IN LAW OR IN CUSTOM, BUT SHALL IN EVERY WAY BE ON AN EQUAL PLANE IN RIGHTS, AS SHE HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE, IN RESPONSIBILITIES AND OBLIGATIONS.

Women have now had the vote for five years, almost to a day, as I write these words on November 6, 1925. Already we are told many a time and oft that we have not brought about the millennium promised by suffragists. What suffragists promised this I do not know. I, for one, wanted the vote because I felt that it belonged to me as a citizen, a right that had been denied my sex from the beginning of an androcentric civilization. It never occurred to me to assume that women would reform the world in a day, a year, a decade, or a century. The millennium story was but another yarn fabricated by anti-suffragists to salve their own consciences for hurling monkey wrenches into the wheels of progress. Most of us like Jane Addams looked upon the ballot as a "handy little instrument" in carrying on more sanely and wisely the general conduct of living. Many of us might not be willing to go as far as Harriet Martineau when she tells us that women are "the connecting link between men and heaven" though we felt very sure that women's vote could not make matters worse. The motto of the Revolution, the paper of the early pioneers was "*The True Republic*—Men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less." Lucy Stone said of Woman's Rights that Woman's Wrongs might be the more appropriate term. Exactly the same thoughts, the same desires, the same purposes are in the minds of the women of today as directed the actions of Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Alice Paul in an article for the *Christian Science Monitor*, expresses this idea very clearly:

By ALICE PAUL

The memorable Seneca Falls convention seventy-five years ago outlined a bold program for raising the status of women. It demanded equal rights in the franchise, in education, in industry, in the professions, in political office, in marriage, in personal freedom, in control of property, in guardianship of children, in making contracts, in the church, and in the leadership of all moral and public movements. In short, the conference of 1848 protested against every form of the subjection of women and instituted a campaign to establish equal rights between men and women.

Today—after seventy-five years—only one of the objects set forth in the 1848 resolutions has been completely attained. This one is equal rights in the franchise. The National Women's Party, which played a considerable part in winning suffrage, is

now dedicated to carrying to a victory the remainder of the 1848 program. To this end it is working, as stated in its declaration of fundamentals, "that woman shall no longer be in any form of subjection to man in law or in custom, but shall in every way be on an equal plane in rights, as she has always been and will continue to be, in responsibilities and obligations." More concretely stated, the campaign of the Woman's Party is striving to win for women:

- Equal control of their children ;
- Equal control of their property ;
- Equal control of their earnings ;
- Equal right to make contracts ;
- Equal citizenship rights ;
- Equal inheritance rights ;
- Equal control of national, state and local government ;
- Equal opportunities in schools and universities ;
- Equal opportunities in government service ;
- Equal opportunities in professions and industries ;
- Equal pay for equal work ;
- Equal authority in the church ;
- Equal rights after marriage to their own identity, and an
- Equal moral standard.

If I were going to enter into a dissertation upon the accomplishment of women since they got the vote I would not sing forth the praises of the man-made governors of Wyoming and Texas, although I recognize their signal importance in establishing true values for women's service in government. Nor would I dilate upon our congresswomen and senator, though they, too, have done their part in making the history of their sex more worthy of perusal. I would, however, expand at some length upon the Cable Bill, making woman's citizenship commensurate with man's and the Infancy and Maternity Act which has directed to the care of human beings some small portion of their taxes. These two great achievements of the National League of Women Voters deserve universal applause.

I would direct attention to another even more far-reaching achievement than the above-mentioned; in my estimation, the best single piece of educational research work that has ever been carried out by men or women. I refer to the codification of laws of the United States, effecting women and the digests made for every State by the Legislative Research Committee of the National Woman's Party, under the direction of Mrs. Burnita Shelton Matthews. Before remedying legal inequality it was necessary



BURNITA SHELTON MATTHEWS
CHAIRMAN LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH COMMITTEE,
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

that knowledge should be obtained of its existence. Again Mrs. Belmont came forward to help finance this important project of supplying the women of the country with complete data on their constitutional rights and their failure to receive them. So occupied had women been in securing the vote that it came upon most of us like a bolt from a clear sky that women were suffering under many flagrant injustices. For examples many of us had not considered the position of the woman worker as carefully as we might have done had not obtaining the franchise taken our time and energy.

Again I quote Alice Paul on this phase of equal rights. As with others it took her some time to adjust her mind to the new freedom but her deductions, once reached, are remarkably clear and reflect those of a large number of working women today:

The equal rights movement has not by any means attained as yet the general support which was accorded the basic idea of suffrage for women. The philosophy of equality is at war with the philosophy of special protection and privilege for women. On one side stand the little band who met at Seneca Falls seventy-five years ago and their descendants, demanding equality. On the other side stand the women who ask for protection instead of equality.

The warfare of these two philosophies is finding vigorous expression at the present moment over the question of labor laws for women. The equal rights group insist on equality in industry as in all other fields. The Woman's Party platform on this subject reads:

"Women shall no longer be barred from any occupation, but every occupation open to men shall be open to women, and restrictions upon the hours, conditions, and remuneration of labor shall apply alike to both sexes."

The Woman's Party demands that in the field of labor no restrictions shall be placed upon women alone, because, it claims, such restrictions make it more difficult for women to compete with men in earning a livelihood. It points out that women have always performed the unpaid labor of the world, with no protest from anyone as to whether it may be beyond their strength. It points out that it is only in the field of paid labor that one finds this interest in the welfare of women, and it contends that this interest is largely, unconsciously, perhaps, in protecting the jobs of men and not in protecting the welfare of women.

The Woman's Party says that if various restrictions are considered good for the individuals concerned and good for the race, they should apply to all workers in an industry. In this way, it

contends, the individuals concerned will benefit, and the race will benefit—and women will not be injured by being subjected to an additional handicap in competing with men.

This warfare between equal rights and protection is not local to the United States. The Woman's Party brings evidence to show that it is in the more advanced countries and among the younger women of these countries that the theory of equal rights receives the most support. It also calls attention to the support given to the fundamental of equal rights in industry by the delegates from various European countries at the international congresses of women.

No more difficult question will come before "the women who come after" than that of protective legislation. In an industrial State like Rhode Island labor legislation is always before the people for consideration. I am frank to confess I used to believe in protective legislation for women before we had the vote which I regard their legitimate protection as opposed to a temporary form of defense which might almost be called illegitimate. At best, it is a back door method, an undignified approach to justice and equality for men and women. In my brief on the 48-hour bills of the Legislature of 1923, I try to elucidate my present belief on this much debated subject in the following ten points:

BRIEF ON 48-HOUR BILLS

SUBMITTED BY

SARA M. ALGEO

Chairman, Providence League of Women Voters

TEN POINTS

1—WE BELIEVE IN A 48-HOUR BILL: First we would make a clear statement of our position. We are not opposed to a 48-hour bill PROVIDED IT APPLIES TO ALL WORKERS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION BASED UPON SEX. We believe in a 48-hour week in principle for mechanical labor in factories and workshops in spite of the many valid and serious objections arrayed against such limitation of the hours of work, BUT IT MUST BE FOR PERSONS.

2—THE BARRY BILL: Women who approve of a 48-hour week can endorse the Act introduced by Senator Barry in the January session, 1922, with a clear conscience. It applies to PERSONS.

3 —48-HOUR BILLS FOR WOMEN AND MINORS ONLY ARE UNJUST: Positions in industry should be open to all on equal terms regardless of race, sex or color.

DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW spoke on this point before the War Labor Board when the Cleveland conductorettes were being ousted from positions on demand of the Amalgamated Associations of Street and Electrical Employees. She said:

"Let women be judged by their ability. It is time that justice decides such questions as this. If we fail, let us fail, not by the behest of men, but by our own act. We have fought a great war to secure liberty and justice—not for men, but for people—for women people as well as for men people. If one group of workers may say another group of workers shall not have certain work, just because they are women, then we have neither liberty or justice."

CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM H. TAFT SAYS:

"It is quite possible for men to masquerade as protectors of women in the advocacy of such laws, (Labor Laws for Women Only), when their purpose is rather to prevent the competition of women with male labor. . . .

"As one of the joint chairmen of the National Labor Board . . . I BECAME CONVINCED THAT WOMEN NEEDED PROTECTION AGAINST SOME OF THEIR WOULD-BE PROTECTORS."

4—A 48-HOUR BILL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN IS NOT IN ACCORD WITH ECONOMIC OR INDUSTRIAL EQUALITY FOR WOMEN:

"The framers of legislation intended to benefit women workers must not forget that women are now competing with men in many lines of business and industry, and that the only way in which they can compete successfully is to have a free hand. If a law binds them never to work overtime, and never to work before or after certain hours, no matter what the emergency, and imposes no such restrictions upon men, obviously men have the advantage over women in seeking employment, and what was meant for a kindness to women becomes a cruel handicap."—*Boston Herald*.

5—WOMEN ARE NOW CITIZENS AND SHOULD BE TREATED AS SUCH: Women are no longer wards of the State and refuse to be treated as such. To quote from the Common Sense Series, No. 13, 1923, of the Equal Rights Association:

"These Arguments of Forty Years Ago Have Been Disproved.

"There is another reason why I think the proposal . . . is all wrong . . . The office and duty which nature has devolved upon women during all the active and vigorous portions of her life would often render it impossible, AND STILL MORE OFTEN INDELICATE, for her to appear and act in caucuses, conventions or elections, or to ACT AS A MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE or as a JUROR or JUDGE."—From adverse majority report of the House Judiciary Committee, in 1884, on granting suffrage.

"Despite the fact that women now act in all the capacities mentioned, without injuring their health or morals, or causing inconvenience to their male associates, the same moss-grown objections

are being used to pass laws that will handicap us in earning our livelihood and, incidentally, thus control our political power. A WORD TO THE WISE WOMAN POLITICIAN SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT!"

6—LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN AND MINORS SHOULD BE KEPT ENTIRELY SEPARATE: Mr Owen Lovejoy of the National Child Labor Committee, Miss Abbott of the National Child Welfare Bureau and practically all leaders in welfare work for children are agreed in this.

7—WE BELIEVE IN EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK: Women cannot get equal pay unless they perform equal work and they cannot get equal work unless they have the same conditions as men. If the 48-hour bill for women and children alone becomes a law, women will be ousted from many classes of work where the wage is high enough to attract men, and owing to State regulations will be ineligible for certain work open to men unregulated by such laws. Hence they will be forced into undesired drudgery.

8—MANY WOMEN WILL LOSE THEIR POSITIONS BY THE PASSAGE OF A 48-HOUR BILL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN ONLY: It is difficult to give definite figures, but we find that many women would lose their jobs by the passage of such legislation. Such women would be quite justified in attacking such legislation as unconstitutional and bringing pressure to bear upon the Supreme Court to have it removed.

Men workers who fear the adverse decision of the Supreme Court against laws regulating the hours of labor by such a law attempt to coerce women under the guise of health regulation to assume risks they are not willing to run themselves.

To quote the American Bar Association Journal: P754, Dec., 1922:

"In a recent address before the Cleveland Bar Association, former Secretary of War Baker has called attention to one of the causes of the unwillingness of labor leaders to submit wage controversies to judicial determination. He attributes it to the lack of any fixed standard for the determination of wage rates, so that each separate judge before whom such a question might come would be a law unto himself. Coupled with this is the statement of Mr. Justice Brandeis in the Duplex Printing Press Company case that labor is dissatisfied with the courts because, by virtue of their environment, the social and economic ideas of judges are considered to be prejudicial to equality between working man and employer."

9—MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY ARE NOT NECESSARILY PLEDGED TO A 48-HOUR BILL FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN: Both kinds of bills were before the Legislature for consideration last year. The impression is widely broadcast that the 48-hour

bills were for *all* workers. If a poll of the women of the State were taken I am assured that it would be in favor of a bill for all persons, if for any kind of workers.

10—BOTH FORMS OF A 48-HOUR BILL ARE EQUALLY CONSTITUTIONAL: Such is the opinion of Nathan W. Littlefield, prominent constitutional lawyer, and many other lawyers whom we have consulted.

Thirty-two States have laws regulating persons now. Rhode Island is an example in connection with the law regulating carmen passed in 1902.

(*Chap. 218, Gen. Laws of R. I.*)

Possibly the best example is that of the State of Oregon. This is the latest decision of the U. S. Supreme Court on the right of a State to legislate hours of work for PERSONS.

Page 426, Vol. 243, U. S. Reports, Oct. Term, 1916 (to be found in State Law Library);

In re Bunting v. Oregon (243 U. S. 426, 37 Sup. Ct., 435).

Equal pay for equal work! I have touched upon this subject too often in the preceding chapters to go into it here. *Again, I repeat, women be satisfied with nothing less.*

Equal rights in religion are far distant. As for equal authority in the church that makes a feminist smile, I remember a little incident in the Central Congregational Church, Providence, some years ago when they were choosing their present pastor. A committee of six men had been appointed to perform this function but, finding it somewhat difficult, a meeting of the church members was called to select three additional members. My husband seeing the light of battle in my eye leaned over and wildly whispered, "Don't start something." I was, in fact, about to rise and suggest that three women be appointed to share the burdens of selecting the man they expected to listen to for some years but was deterred. Three more men were elected. Coming out I was hailed by two of our younger suffragists, Miss Brooke and Miss Babcock, "Why didn't you say something; we expected better things of you." When I expressed my indignation to an old lady on this same occasion, she replied, "Men have always chosen the ministers here; why shouldn't they go on doing it?" Women's brains in many cases have become atrophied from lack of use. We hear there are a few women rabbis, we know there are some women ministers but we are forced to the conclusion that men will let go the purse strings and the offices only when the handwriting on the wall becomes very clear indeed. "Boss" Wilson once told

me that the real power in the political machines lies with the men who hold the purse strings and choose candidates or as he expressed it "hand out jobs." Other institutions have this same defect.

Equal opportunities in schools and universities: I asked Dean Franklin of Boston University if her salary was as large as that of the other Deans. Her reply came quickly, "No, and I have charge of all the women while they have only the men in their particular departments," showing that this Western woman knew the meaning of "equal rights." I wonder how Dean Morriss of the Women's College, Brown University, would answer the same question.

It is not in the scope of this book to deal with an "equal moral standard." An unequal moral standard is as much the result of habit or custom as of law; e. g., in New York State prostitution and the offer to commit prostitution has been made a legal offence. The law deals with "persons," yet the courts have ruled that "a man cannot participate in an act of prostitution." In Rhode Island the man prostitute is usually permitted to go free with a nominal fine.

"Equal control of national, state and local government" is the part of the equal rights program which holds intense interest for me, as twice I have been offered or offered myself as an innocent lamb upon this special altar. The first time I ran for office, or rather "almost ran," was in Providence. It was after my return from Europe, where I associated with M. P.'s and members of the Reichstag on a common ground. I asked for the nomination for the Senatorship from Providence on the Republican ticket for which office no Republican had been elected for about ten years. The nomination was given to an ex-service man. I could have spoiled his chances by running on an independent ticket. Possibly I should have done so for the independent ticket is one of the few weapons by which women can force recognition. Two years later I tried again in the town in which I live, Barrington on an independent ticket. A man candidate literally had to be corralled, dragged in by the scruff of his neck, so to speak, for the office; but a *man* was procured at last and put into office by the machine. Women, especially in the East, have had to overcome enormous difficulties to secure an office. Why is it? I say boldly it is due to what some call "sex-antagonism," others the "androcentric

complex," and what I have heard referred to as the "desire to be the whole show." For many centuries man has come to believe himself the centre of the universe; the one to define "wo-

SARA M. ALGEO

FOR

SENATOR



MY PLATFORM

"A SQUARE DEAL"

man's sphere." That she may wish to determine her own sphere is a cause of perplexity met upon the part of some with irritation, on the part of others with indifference and on the part of a few with understanding. Not long ago the spirit moved me

to put into writing some of my thoughts and gleanings from summer reading on this social outcast from good literary circles. It was published in *Equal Rights*, the only purely feminist periodical in America, which was without doubt the only weekly that would have accepted such an article:

Three interesting publications lie in close juxtaposition on my library table ready for perusal at odd moments. They are the *Atlantic Monthly*, the "General Laws of Rhode Island," and Blackstone's "Commentaries." The first, from which I draw my text, is the *Atlantic*, July number, with its more than usually clever article on "Cure-Alls," by Agnes Repplier. As always her style is entrancing, her logic, damnable. The lines in this particular instance which draw down my wrath are the following:

"These varieties of the cure-all doctrine, with which we were once sadly familiar, grow rarer with every year of suffrage and experience. When women have gone one step further, and have secured through legitimate State legislation their Equal Rights, we shall never hear them again. By that time 'sex-embitterment' will have been relegated to the dust-bin."

How beatific if we could all wave the airy wand of Miss Repplier and relegate in reality to the dust-bin that centuries-old problem, the antagonism of the sexes! Alas, the companion pieces of the *Atlantic* give the merry ha-ha to the cheerful insouciance of Miss Repplier, and remind one that Equal Rights are not to be conjured into being by the carefree nonchalance of an easy writer, but, like suffrage, are to be won only through the careful toil of ages by the hard and sacrificial work of generations of women cognizant of and consecrated to the magnitude of their task.

My "Commentaries" of Sir William is the original edition, a good illustration of the time element necessary to "relegate to the dust-bin" Miss Repplier's "sex-embitterment." It comprises four large and musty volumes in frayed brown leather brought out in 1769 at Oxford by the Clarendon Press. It has on the frontisleaf the bold brave signature of one Patrick Wilkie, March 21, 1774, and in its pages some dried and brittle leaves as though, even in those distant days, Patrick had allowed his mind to wander to more sentimental concepts than those inspired by Sir William. Tall and fierce looking essences greet the eye, and occasional queer spellings remind us that the author was his own authority in this respect as in some others. I procured these precious though musty tomes from the Providence Athenæum.

In binding, print and general make-up the "General Laws of Rhode Island" is quite different from Blackstone, quite up-to-date in fact, 1923. Under the skin, however, they are as alike as the proverbial two peas in a pod. Notwithstanding the antiquity of one and the modernity of the other, their similarity

of content, especially in regard to the rights of women, is most striking. Let us note a few points of this remarkable resemblance. Both agree in fixing the age of consent for marriage at 12 years for girls and 14 for boys. (Why the difference? Is it "sex-embitterment" or sex-slavery?)

To quote Blackstone, "By the common law, if the parties themselves were of the age of consent, there wanted no other concurrence to make the marriage valid," though he goes on to point out that there were some statutes even in those days demanding the consent of parents or guardians before the age of sixteen for the "woman-child." Also the bans must be published and some other forms gone through to show the innate reluctance on the part of the old English common law to consign a child of twelve to the servitude of marriage. Rhode Island laws have actually gone backward in this respect. The father's consent to a premature marriage alone is sufficient.

Girls are still *given away* or *sold into slavery* in Rhode Island under the sanction of its general laws as witnesseth the *Warren and Barrington Gazette*, published in Warren, Rhode Island, and dated Friday, July 31, 1925:

"Jennie Santos, giving her address as 230 Water Street, Warren, and her age as 12 years old, applied together with Michael M. Arango of the same address and 23 years of age, for a marriage license at the office of the town clerk this week and it was granted Thursday.

"Town Clerk Smith could not refuse to grant the license, although the bride to be is much younger than usual, because the Rhode Island law says that a marriage license may be granted to girls 12 years of age or over.

"Jennie was, according to her birth certificate, 12 years old on July 10, and therefore had a perfect right to a marriage license, providing her parents gave their consent, which they did.

"When asked when the wedding was to take place it was stated the exact date was not known, but it probably would be Sunday. The groom is employed as a mill operative. The girl is the daughter of Tony Santos."

Four days have elapsed since the doom of little Jennie Santos was sealed and I have heard no objections raised by the male attorney-general and his numerous assistants, the male chief of police, the male clerks, or, in fact, any of the male arbiters of the destiny of little Jennie. A good policewoman would have given Jenny a chance. Not all "sex-embitterment" has been "relegated to the dust-bin."

It might be illuminating to Miss Repplier and others who profess abounding faith in state legislatures to remove the legal disabilities of women to compare the following excerpts from Blackstone with the general laws of today. Only a cataclysm such as adding an amendment to the United States Constitution to

enforce Equal Rights for men and women will arouse the nation to a sense of its responsibility in this regard. Legal inequality is inherent in the laws of every nation from the time of Napoleon, Peter the Great, and Justinian. Truly it might be said to be as fixed as the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

Sir William informs us in his kindly considerate though firm manner that:

“By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated into that of the husband; under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything; and is therefore called in our law-french a *feme-covert*: is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her baron, or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her coverture. Upon this principle, of an union of person in husband and wife depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquire by the marriage. I speak not at present of the rights of property, but of such as are merely personal. For this reason, a man cannot grant anything to his wife, or enter into covenant with her; for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence; and to covenant with her, would be only to covenant with himself. * * * * * If the wife be injured in her person or property, she can bring no action for redress without her husband’s concurrence. * * * * * In trials of any sort, they are not allowed to be evidence for or against each other. If witnesses for each other, they would contradict one maxim of law, ‘*nemo in propria causa testis esse debet*,’ and if against each other, they would contradict another maxim, ‘*nemo tenetur se-ipsam accusare*.’”

Again Sir William expresses himself modestly but still firmly in the following terms:

“But, though our law in general considers man and wife as one person, yet there are some instances in which she is separately considered; as *inferior* to him and acting by his compulsion. And therefore all deeds executed, and acts done, by her, during her coverture, are void, or at least voidable. * * * * * The husband also (by the old law) might give his wife correction. But, with us, in the politer reign of Charles II, this power of correction began to be doubted. * * * * * Yet the lower rank of people, who were always fond of the old common law, still claim and exert their ancient privilege; and the courts of law will still permit a husband to restrain a wife of her liberty, in case of any gross misbehaviour.” [Witness the cases of wife-beating of the present day!]

Sir William closes his peroration with that sentence dear in its utter absurdity to the heart of every old suffragist:

“These are the chief legal effects of marriage during the coverture; upon which we may observe, that even the disabilities, which

the wife lies under, are for the most part intended for her protection and benefit. *So great a favourite is the female sex of the laws of England.*"

It might be well for common folk as well as Governor Ferguson to sit up and take notice of rights and privileges of queens in those days. There is apparently no doubt in the mind of the clear-headed Blackstone about the advantages accruing from legal equality.

"The queen consort is the wife of the reigning king; and she by virtue of her marriage is participant of divers prerogatives above other women. And, first, she is a public person, exempt and distinct from the king; and not, like other married women, so closely connected as to have lost all legal or separate existence so long as the marriage continues. For the queen is of ability to purchase lands, and to convey them, to make leases, to grant copyholds, and do other acts of ownership, without the concurrence of her lord; which no other married woman can do. * * * * She is also capable of taking a grant from the king, which no other wife is from her husband. * * * She may also sue and be sued alone, without joining her husband. She may also have a separate property in goods as well as lands, and has a right to dispose of them by will. In short, she is in all legal proceedings looked upon as a *feme sole*, and not as a *feme covert*; as a single, not as a married woman. For which the reason given by Sir Edward Coke is this: because the wisdom of the common law would not have the king (whose continual care and study is for the public, and *circa ardua regni*) to be troubled and disquieted on account of his wife's domestic affairs: and therefore it vests in the queen a power of transacting her own concerns, without the intervention of the king, as if she was an unmarried woman."

In the general law of today we find that though women's legal rights have increased, they still labor under many disadvantages. Since 1844 her property rights are greater: it was necessary to the father's or husband's happiness to have them so. Even so, the wife's settlement follows that of her husband, she cannot make contracts with her husband, her services belong to her husband, and her dower rights are not equal to his rights of curtesy.

To a mere novice like myself, exploring for the first time the intricate by-ways of our present system of law, it would seem that the a-b-c of Equal Rights for men and women has yet to be written. Equal opportunity, equal pay, equal guardianship for all children, equal industrial rights, equal political rights, are still in that nebulous state in which equal suffrage found itself sixty years ago. The same devotion, the same continuity of effort, the same charity toward the deaf and the blind, the same perspicacity in coping with Satan's wiles and poor ignorant human nature, are needed now as then.

No words coming from the pen of woman directed to women dare omit reference to the greatest task confronting the collective mind of women of the world today. I refer, of course, to the elimination of war. Again we are safe in following the guidance of our great international thinker, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who is representing aright the universal attitude of thinking women when she insists that war must be abolished and that some form of mechanism must be established between nations by which arbitration and not the sword shall be the controlling factor in settling international difficulties. That the National League of Women Voters has decided upon the World Court as the best medium in sight for bringing peace out of warfare may be judged from the following circular letter. With Maud Wood Park as head of so able a Legislative Committee, women of America may well be hopeful of accomplishing their desired end—the displacement of fears of impending wars by a sense of security and peace.

WEDNESDAY, November 18, 1925.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Washington, D. C.

A special committee to observe Senate action on the World Court resolution this winter, was announced today by the National League of Women Voters.

Mrs. Maud Wood Park, former president of the League, and now counsellor on legislation, will head the committee, which also will direct the League's appeal for favorable action on the proposal. Other members are Miss Ruth Morgan, chairman of the League's department of international co-operation to prevent war; Miss Belle Sherwin, president; Miss Adele Clark, of Richmond, Va., and Miss Josephine Schain, of New York City.

The World Court proposal is the major measure in the League's legislative program. Until the Senate acts, it will be accorded almost exclusive consideration by the legislative department of the league.

December 17th, the date scheduled for consideration of the World Court resolution, has been designated as "World Court Day," and will be marked with fitting observance by the local Leagues throughout the country. United States Senators will be advised of the sentiment in their states, and a large group of League women are expected in Washington for the opening discussion.

Seven regional directors of the League, representing all sections of the country, at a recent meeting in Washington, reported intense interest, among women everywhere, in the World Court. In discussions and study groups of hundreds of local leagues, during the summer and fall, the World Court has occupied first place.

Another organization which seems to me to be working along the right lines is the Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War. In a recent address Owen D. Young expressed his approval of the plans and purpose of this society and his faith in the efficacy of its methods. In order to present the matter in concise form to some of my readers who may not know of its work I give the following explanatory letter from Roger W. Babson, its first secretary:

October 5, 1925.

MRS. JAMES W. ALGEO,

Barrington, R. I.

DEAR MRS. ALGEO:

In reply to your inquiry about the Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War, I submit the following information:

The Society was organized January, 1915, by a group of Wellesley people who believed that in modern times the chief causes of war are economic. They held that if some international alliance could be formed in which difficulties regarding immigration, trade, territory, etc., could be discussed and peaceful settlement be reached, there would be far less likelihood of nations resorting to war. The Society has issued monthly bulletins and has entered into various other activities to spread the gospel contained in their Statement of Principles, a copy of which is enclosed.

The annual dues are two dollars, to be sent to Miss Julia Swift Orvis, Secretary, Wellesley College, and entitle members to a place on the mailing list so that they may receive the regular bulletins and any other literature that may be issued.

Hoping that this information may be satisfactory and thanking you for your interest, I am,

Very truly yours,

ROGER W. BABSON.

I understand that the idea of such an organization is being adopted by other colleges. Miss Julia Swift Orvis, Professor of History in Wellesley College, the present secretary, sends me additional information:

SOCIETY TO ELIMINATE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

The surest way to prevent war is to remove the temptation to war. This can best be done by providing the means by which nations can secure and retain peacefully, through some representative organization, the ends which they would otherwise seek to secure through war. Although the world cannot remain in *statu quo*, there must be a more efficient means of bringing about changes than by resort to war.

It is generally agreed that the causes of war in modern times are largely matters of territory, immigration, and trade. If some method can be found by which international trade routes shall become neutral, and further unfair legislation by one nation against another shall cease, a long step toward the elimination of wars will have been taken.

A league or association of nations should provide security and opportunity for all, eliminate the necessity for the control of immigration, trade and other barriers by any one power, and the opposition to such control by any other. It would provide an incentive to states to combine. Commercial alliance appeals where political alliance does not.

This may involve the yielding of some so-called sovereign rights; but this is more than offset by an ultimate advantage of almost incalculable value. Unless nations are willing to join in a movement for international protection, they must continue to compete in expenditures for national defense. There is no halfway ground.

MISS JULIA S. ORVIS, *Secretary*,
Professor of History, Wellesley College,
Wellesley, Mass.

To me the most conclusive argument of the possibility of ultimately doing away with war is the fact that the *women of the world* do not want war. They want peace and friendship and honorably dealing among nations as well as among individuals.

A feeling of melancholy creeps over me as I lay aside my pen and close this simple tale of Equal Rights. Tied up in those words are the aspirations of countless women. I would like to have expressed them better, put before you far more vividly What Every Woman Knows. Some time each state will have its

saga and its bard; may be after I have joined the "courteous ghost" another annalist will glorify the work of women of Rhode Island with a glamour and romance of which I have caught faint inkling. Be it so! My only hope is that she may find of use the facts and fancies of many minds which might have lain dormant in a scrapbook had not some one bestirred herself to present them in compact form to the public eye. At least I have done what I set out to do—I have not "let my bone go with the dog."



